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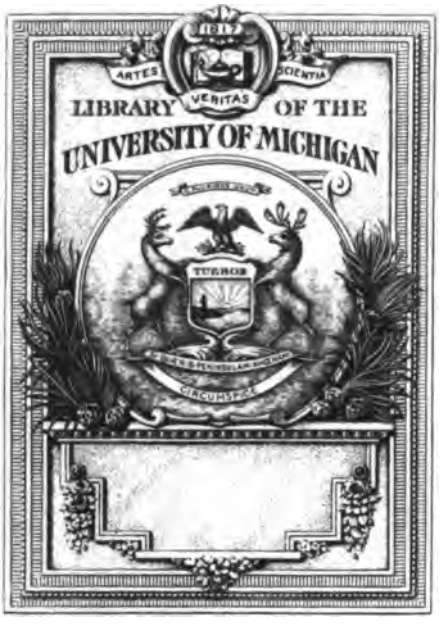

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OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1866.)

VOLUME VIII.—NEW SERIES.

EDITOR

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

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I.—The Society shall be called the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society is formed for the purpose of investigating, describing, and preserving the antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society consists of the original members, and all those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or Council Meeting upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—The Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on the 1st of July in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society whilst his or her Subscription is in arrear. A composition of Ten Guineas constitutes Life Membership. *N.B.*—Ladies elected prior to August 30th, 1881, pay only 5/- per annum.

V.—The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cumberland, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Westmorland, if members of the Society, shall be Patrons thereof.

VI.—The other officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries and Treasurer, all being honorary officers, who shall all be elected at a General Meeting of the members of the Society to be held each year.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above named, excepting the Auditors, and twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers. The Council may, if it think fit, elect one of its members as "Chairman of the Council."

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect, as honorary members, gentlemen non-resident eminent for antiquarian knowledge, or gentlemen resident who shall have rendered valuable services to the Society, such gentlemen to have all the privileges of membership without the payment of Subscriptions.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more Meetings in each year at some place of interest, at which papers shall be read, to be printed, if approved by the Editor and Publication Committee, in the Society's *Transactions*.

X.—The Council have power to appoint local secretaries, and to authorise the formation of Committees for local purposes in connection with the central body.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to settle the place or places at which the General and other Meetings shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—The Council may appoint two members of their body, who shall, with the Editor, form the Publication Committee.

XIII.—Members may introduce a friend to the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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1907,

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

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ART. I.—*The Dispute between the Abbots of Furness and Savigny in the light of twelfth century documents now at Paris.* By R. O'NEILL PEARSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 18th, 1907.

VISITORS to Paris ought to make a point of visiting the "Archives Nationales" in the old "Palais de Soubise." The building itself is a fine example of Italian renaissance, and a portion of it is a museum open to the general public. The archives in the adjoining portion of the building may be examined by permission of the governors, which is readily granted. In the museum are shown conveyances to charitable uses under the hands of our Saxon kings—Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. There are also to be seen documents and interesting communications from Edward the Third, the Black Prince, Henry VIII., Charles I., letters in the handwriting of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes signed by the "Grand Monarque." These are only a few of the many treasures exposed to view. On my last visit I was given permission by M. Gauthier, archiviste, to examine documents relating to the abbey of Savigny, the mother house of Furness Abbey, and among them are the three parchments of the twelfth century relating to Furness Abbey, which are the subject of my present paper, and translations of which I am about to give.* They have reference to an important epoch in the history of Furness (1148), at the time of a very serious dispute between the abbot of Savigny and the abbot of Furness. The history of the dispute is given in the Furness Coucher Book as follows:—

* The originals are given below, pp. 9-11.

In the time of this abbot (Peter of York) the venerable Serlo, fourth abbot of Savigny, which is the mother house of Furness, in a general chapter at Citeaux rendered his house of Savigny with its daughters of the Order of Tiron to the Cistercian Order into the hands of St. Bernard, then abbot of Clairvaux. Against which rendering the aforesaid Abbot Peter with his convent appealed to the Pope and the holy apostolic see. To which see coming in person he obtained from the lord the Pope Eugenius III. a confirmation that his monastery of Furness should for ever remain of the same Order of which it had first been founded, notwithstanding the rendering aforesaid. But on his return from the Roman Court he was seized on the way by the monks of Savigny, and taken to Savigny. There he resigned his office as abbot and became a most worthy monk in the same place learning the Cistercian Order, and thence he was chosen fifth abbot of Quarr. To which Peter there succeeded at Furness as fifth abbot Richard of Bayeux, doctor in theology, a pious monk of Savigny, who ruled for a short time; by whose diligence and counsel the monastery of Furness itself was rendered to the mother house of Savigny and to the Cistercian Order before the same Richard was elected in the same to the abbey.

This account has always been accepted as historical, and is reproduced by West in his *Antiquities of Furness* and by Beck in his history of the Abbey of St. Mary of Furness. The documents, however, in the possession of the French Government, which I am about to read, prove it to be erroneous in important particulars, from which we may naturally infer that our two historians had not had the advantage of perusing the muniments in question. It suppresses the fact that the dispute was not only on a matter of discipline, but was a very serious contention as to the ownership of the abbey and of Furness, which was settled adversely to the holders of the property. It would appear that the disciplinary question was dependent on the decision as to the ownership, and from this decision very grave results arose in the future history of the abbey.

The rival claims would apparently arise from the fact that Stephen, count of Bologne, afterwards King of England, made two distinct grants of Furness on the same date. In the first grant he gave the district of Furness, which included Walney, Dalton, and Ulverston,

to God, St. Mary of Furness, and the abbot of this house; but in the second he gave it to God, the Holy Trinity of Savigny, and the abbot of Savigny, thus creating two rival claimants for the same princely property—the abbot of Furness and the abbot of Savigny—and these rival claims came to a head when the latter matriculated with Citeaux, and ordered the former and his monks to conform to the Cistercian Order, to which Order the then abbot of Furness Abbey (Peter of York) and his monks refused obedience.

The account also contains other misstatements and inaccuracies which will become apparent on perusing the documents now under discussion. The first of them which I shall read is a letter from the archbishop of Rouen to the archbishop of York, and is as follows:—

To the Reverend and Venerable Father, Henry, by the grace of God, venerable Archbishop, and to all the Chapter of the Church of York, Hugo, by the same grace, priest of Rouen, health, prosperity, and peace. What is known to have been canonically and reasonably done ought not at any time to be undone, but ought to be observed unalterably and steadily. It pleased our lord the Pope Eugenius to name us and our venerable brother Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, and to command us to act in his name and as his commissioners in the dispute between the abbey of Savigny and that of Furness; and notice having been given to them of the day fixed by his [the Pope's] command, the abbot of Savigny did not fail to come on the day with the muniments of title, but Peter of Furness neither came nor sent anyone to represent him. We did not wish to act precipitately, and obliged the abbot of Savigny to wait for some days. At length, finding that Peter made delays and considering the persons who were present, the abbot of Savigny set forth his case and the order of the matter in the midst of those assembled, when he said that the abbey of Furness from its first foundation had been built at the expense and cost of the monastery of Savigny, and that he had held the same for a long time in peace. Then, indeed, he produced six abbots of his Order as witnesses, who confirmed the same thing, and made oath upon the Holy Evangel that the same was the truth.

When these steps had been taken its possession was adjudged to the abbot of Savigny, and by this canonical judgment about the abbey and its appurtenances we, representing our lord the Pope, have invested the possession in him.

Some days after Peter of Furness came asking that the judgment, which, as we have said, was terminated, should be set aside. While, however, he was working with this object, letters came from our lord the Pope ordering Peter that he immediately conform to what had been done, and that he return to the obedience of Savigny under the pain of excommunication. Thus Peter, having been reduced to order with severity, recognized the duty which he owed to Savigny, and no longer delayed rendering his filial obedience.

We wish, therefore, to intimate to you the truth and order of the matter, so that when you know the truth you may sustain it, and if any further report reaches you contrary to this you may know that you must reject it, and that you may conserve to the abbey of Savigny all its integral rights according to our judgment and the command of our lord the Pope, and in case anyone shall attempt to rise up against this judgment you may not disdain to deal with him according to the laws of the church.

From this it would appear the statement in the Coucher Book—that Peter obtained a confirmation from the Pope permitting him and his monks to remain under their original rule—is not correct. Peter obtained from Rome a commission appointing the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Lisieux commissioners to enquire and decide the dispute between the rival claimants, which apparently depended upon the right to the ownership of the Furness property.

The second letter is from the archbishop and bishop to Peter and the convent, and is as follows :—

Hugo, by the grace of God, archbishop of Rouen, and Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to our well beloved brothers in Christ, Peter and the convent of Furness, health, grace, and benediction *if they be obedient*. Inasmuch as thou knowest, brother Peter, thou didst bring us letters on behalf of our lord the Pope, whereby it was ordered that at the next festival of Saint Michael the cause between thyself and the abbot of Savigny should be considered, and that we should hear and finally determine the matter canonically. Our lord the Pope by the same letters ordered that before thou wast absolved from the excommunication under which thou wast bound thou shouldst make oath that thou wouldst obey his orders. Moreover, as thou hast attested that by reason of illness thou wert much delayed in returning, and that by the order of our lord the Pope thou hadst first of all to take quickly his orders and letters to the

king of Scotland and the archbishop of York, at thy request we adjourned the judgment in the matter to the Feast of Saint Martin, and we sent by thee our letters to the abbot of Savigny, and then on arrival of the Feast of Saint Martin the abbot of Savigny came before us with many abbots and other, as we believe, religious and honourable persons, and held himself in readiness to proceed with the case. Thou didst not however come, nor send anyone to act for thee. Several days therefore having passed and thou having failed and not appeared, the abbot of Savigny displayed to us the charter of Stephen, king of England, testifying the donation that he had made to the abbey of Savigny of the abbey of Furness, and the confirmation of our lord the Pope confirming the said place to the abbey of Savigny.

Matters having passed thus, as we have shewn, in the presence of many religious persons and the Holy Evangel having been brought into their midst, the abbots, priors, and many other religious persons arose and testified in the name of our Lord that they they had always seen the abbey of Savigny invested with the abbey of Furness and possessed thereof in peace until thy time.

Having thus received their testimony, and seeing that thou wert wanting in all things, we have adjudged and restored the abbey of Furness to the abbey of Savigny.

Hence then, as to thee and to all the brethren who dwell in the said place, we order and command by the authority of our lord the Pope, who has committed to us this cause, that you obey at all times the abbot of Savigny and his abbey, and that after you have seen these letters that you desist entirely from your invasion, presumption, and rebellion, and that you permit the abbot of Savigny to have entire liberty and disposition of the goods and possession of Furness Abbey at his own absolute will and pleasure, and unless you do this within fifteen days after you have received our mandate we excommunicate you and all who shall obey you, and as representing our lord the Pope for whom we act in this affair we grant to the abbot of Savigny the power and license to excommunicate you and your accomplices.

From the above letter it is evident that the Coucher Book is again at fault in alleging that Peter in returning from the Roman Court was waylaid by the monks of Savigny, who carried him to Savigny, deprived him of his abbacy, and compelled him to learn the Cistercian Order. Peter's liberty had never been tampered with. On his return from Rome he had carried letters to the king of

Scotland and the archbishop of York; he had been sent to the abbot of Savigny with letters from the archbishop of Rouen; judgment had gone against him in default of his appearance at the trial of the cause, and had not been obtained by force.

I now give a third letter from the archbishop of Rouen to the monks of Furness:—

Hugo, by the grace of God, archbishop of Rouen, to the monks and lay-brothers of Furness, health and grace *if they be obedient.* It is religious and virtuous to sustain obedience and humility, and to turn away from arrogance and disobedience. We have regulated with the assistance of many religious and pious persons the cause which our lord the Pope committed to us and to our son Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, between the abbot of Savigny and brother Peter, who governed you; and Peter not coming on the day appointed between them nor having anyone to act for him, the abbey of Furness was adjudged and restored to the abbey of Savigny by the decision of the persons present.

After this the apostolic command has been received that Peter himself and you at once return to obedience to the abbot of Savigny, and that you do not recede from it. On the other hand, if you do not, we are ordered by him for whom we act to excommunicate Peter himself as well as you, and bind you by a sentence of anathema. Peter has acquiesced in the apostolic mandate, and has returned to the obedience and order of the abbot of Savigny, whence we command you and by the apostolic authority order that conformably to the apostolic mandate you return without any delay to obedience to the abbot of Savigny, and that you remain not rebellious and insubordinate. Nevertheless, if you will do this, we absolve you by the authority of him for whom we act in this matter, but if you do not this we bind you by the fetters of anathema.

From the above documents the method of the enforced matriculation of Furness Abbey with Citeaux is clearly set forth, nor can the statement in the Coucher Book be correct in ascribing it to the diligent counsel of the fifth abbot, Richard of Bayeux.

They give neither the date nor place where the commissioners sat. We can, however, get at the former from other sources. The Henry, archbishop of York, to whom the first letter is addressed, was Henry Murdac, a member

of a wealthy Yorkshire family, who became a monk of Clairvaux, and was consecrated to his archbishopric at Treves on December 7th, 1147, through the Cistercian influence. He died October 14th, 1153. The matriculation of Savigny with Citeaux took place in the year 1148, so that the date wanted would be in all probability about the latter part of this or the following year.

The citation given in the third document by the archbishop of Rouen to the monks of Furness seems to have had the desired effect, and thereafter we find them obediently accepting the authority of the abbot of Savigny. As illustrating this I may give a note sent me by Dr. Fell of Barrow, culled from the chronicles of the reign of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I., written by Petit, canon of the Augustinian priory of Newburgh, Yorkshire, and afterwards by a monk of Furness (name unknown), and which is as follows:—

A.D. 1267. On the Vigil of the Ascension, that is to say, on the day of Saint Urban, Pope and Martyr, brother Hugh Brun, sub-prior of Furness, with the unanimous voice and goodwill of the monks was chosen and made abbot in the said house, in the presence of the abbots of Cokesall, Jorveaux, Sallay, and Calder *by the authority of the abbot of Savigny entrusted to them*, who after a short time was acknowledged at a general Chapter." *

The abbots of Savigny probably exercised their prerogatives until near the Dissolution to the time of the last two abbots, Banke and Pele, appointed by the king, probably for the purpose of effecting the surrender. Banke was a member of Gray's Inn, and his actions were all in accordance with the view that his appointment was intended to bring discredit on the monastery. We have the evidence of Thomas Cromwell that the king always appointed men of this class when he had the opportunity.

* The Coucher Book also bears considerable evidence of this authority, particularly in the dispute between Conishead and Furness in 1208 as to the ownership of Pennington and Ulverston churches, when a compromise was affected " with the consent and goodwill of the abbot of Savigny."

If Peter of York had put in an appearance at the trial before the Papal commissioners, we might have had some explanation as to how it came that Stephen made two grants of Furness to two different people. This has always been a mystery and a difficulty to historians. Beck says: "At this distance of time and without further documentary evidence it is impossible to solve this difficulty."

The three documents I have read carefully abstain from any reference to the grant to the abbot of Furness, which, moreover, has been torn out of the chartulary of Furness Abbey, although the table of contents gives undoubted evidence of its existence and the several confirmations of later kings set it forth.

Beck, in speaking of Peter of York, says:—"The fourth abbot, who succeeded Michael Lancaster about the year 1145, was an Englishmen also, and born in all probability in the city of York; but of his character I am unable to present the slightest particular."

We are now, however, able to help the historian in this respect. Peter shewed much of the "grit" of the present day Yorkshireman in standing up for the independence of Furness. He exhibited both courage and energy in maintaining the claim of himself and brother monks to the ownership. For this purpose he undertook journeys both toilsome and dangerous in those days to Rome, Scotland, and Savigny, and apparently illness alone prevented him from appearing single-handed to fight his case before what evidently must have been an unsympathetic assembly. On the other hand, the enforced matriculation with the Cistercian Order—so celebrated as architects and builders—has benefitted posterity by giving them one of the most beautiful examples of mediæval architecture; and, moreover, as this Order was devoted to agriculture, the Benedictines being largely engaged in teaching, it was the more fitted to reduce the then gloomy forest and morass of Furness to fresh pastures and cultivable land.

COPY OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

I.

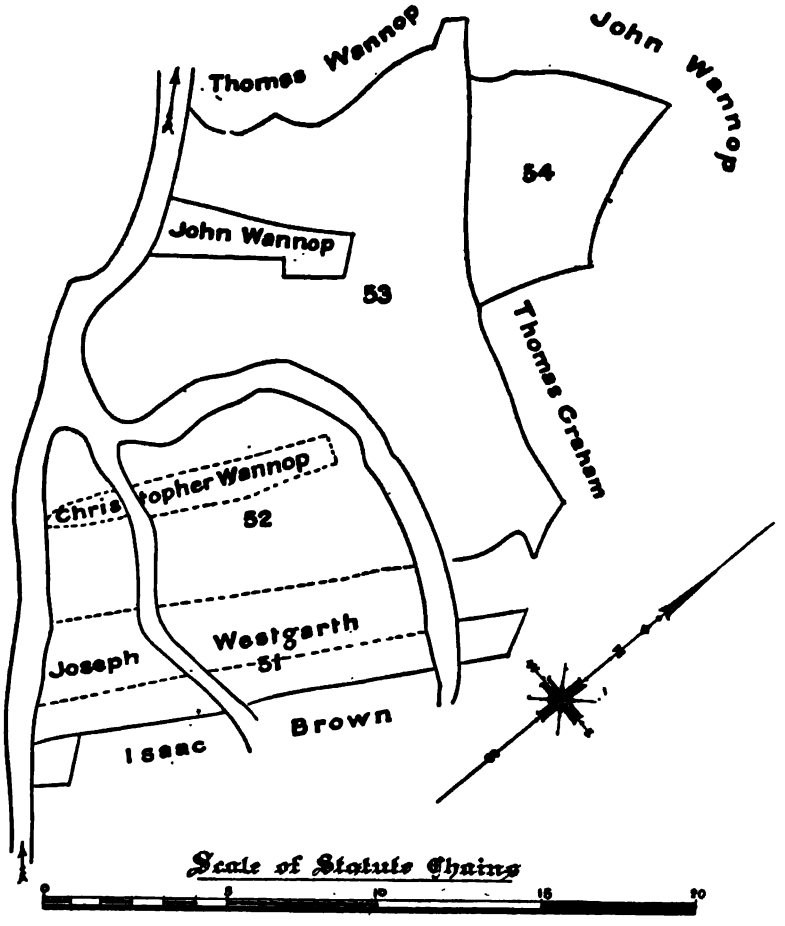
Reverendo et venerabili patri Henrico Dei gratia venerabili archiepiscopo universoque Eboracensis ecclesie capitulo, Hugo, eadem gratia Rothomagensis sacerdos, salutem, prosperitatem et pacem. Quod canonice et rationabiliter factum esse dinoscitur nulla debet occasione convelli, sed ratum et stabile in posterum debet observari. Placuit domino nostro pape Eugenio controversiam quandam inter abbatem Savigniacensem et abbatem Furnesiensem exortam nobis et venerabili fratri nostro Arnulfo, Lexoviensi episcopo, committere et ut vices ejus in causa illa obtineremus voluit precipere; ipsius itaque precepto dies eis prefixa est; abbas vero Savigniacensis cum munimentis suis ad diem venire non distulit, sed Petrus Furnesiensis nec venit neque qui pro eo ageret transmisit. Nos autem, nichil prepropere agere volentes, abbatem Savigniacensem aliquantis diebus expectare fecimus. Tandem vero moram Petro faciente, consideratione personarum que aderant, abbas Savigniacensis causam suam et rei ordinem in medium exposuit dicens abbatiam Furnesiensem a prima fundatione sumptibus et expensis Savigniacensis monasterii edificatam fuisse et multo tempore eam in pace possedisse; inde vero ordinis sui sex abbates protulit testes qui ita esse dixerunt et coram sancto envangelio [*sic*] in verbo veritatis hoc idem comprobaverunt. Hoc autem peracto, adjudicata est abbati Savigniacensi possessio sua ipsumque judicio ecclesiastico de abbatia et pertinentiis ejus vice domini Pape investivimus. Post aliquot dies supervenit prefatus Petrus Furnesiensis causam illam jam sicut prediximus terminatam retractari expostulans. Ipso itaque ad hoc laborante, supervenerunt littere a domino papa directe precipientes prefato Petro judicium quod factum fuerat observare ipsumque ad obedientiam Savigniacensis ecclesie redire vel excommunicationi subjacere. Hac itaque Petrus severitate correptus, obedientiam quam Savigniacensi ecclesie debebat recognovit et ad ipsam tanquam obediens filius redire non distulit. Nos autem rei ordinem et veritatem ideo vobis intimare voluimus ut, cognita veritate, eam teneatis et si quid vobis contrarium super hoc fuerit intimatum respuere cognoscatis et abbatie Savigniacensi jus sumere integre sicut ei adjudicatum est et a domino papa preceptum conservetis; et si quis super hoc contra eam insurgere temptaverit, justiciam ecclesiasticam inde ei facere non dedignemini.

II.

Hugo Dei gratia Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et Arnulfus Lexoviensis episcopus, dilectis in Christo fratribus Petro et conventui Farnesiensibus [*sic*] salutem, gratiam et benedictionem si obedierint. Sicut, frater [Petre], nosti, litteras ex parte domini pape nobis atulisti [*sic*] quibus precipiebat ut proxima sancti Michaelis festivitate, causam que inter abbatem Saviniacensem et te ipsum versabatur audiremus et auditam fine canonico terminaremus. Prefixum etiam fuit in litteris quod antequam dominus papa ab excommunicatione qua tenebaris te absolveret, juramentum eidem feceris quatinus mandato ejus obedires. Ceterum, prout attestatus es, prepedien[te] infirmitate, in redeundo multam moram feceras et ex mandato ipsius domini pape prius ad regem Scocie et ad archiepiscopum Eboracensem mandata et litteras ejus celerius perferre habebas et, ut requisisti, prefatum terminum usque in festum Beati Martini prolongavimus atque literas nostras abbati Saviniacensi per te ipsum transmisimus; eodem vero termino festi sancti Martini, abbas Saviniacensis cum pluribus abbatibus et multis, ut credimus, religiosis et honestis personis ante nos venit et causam suam se ipsum paratum prosequi presentavit. Tu vero nec venisti nec aliquem qui pro te ageret transmisisti. Transactis denique aliquot diebus, cum defecisses nec appareres, ostendit nobis prefatus abbas Saviniacensis cartam regis Anglie Stephani testantem donationem factam fuisse super abbatia Farnesiensi Saviniacensi abbatie et privilegium domini pape confirmans locum illum eidem abbatie Saviniacensi. Cum igitur, sicut diximus, multe religiose ibi essent persone, perductis in medium sacrosanctis envangeliis, surrexerunt abbates, priores et alie plure religiose persone qui in verbo Domini contestati sunt se vidisse ecclesiam Saviniacensem investitam fuisse de abbatia Farnesiensi et usque ad tempus tuum in pace possedisse. Suscepto itaque eorum testimonio cum super omnia defecisses, adjudicavimus et restituimus abbatiam Farnesiensem Saviniacensi abbatie; unde tam tibi quam vobis omnibus fratibus qui in predicto loco commoramini auctoritate domini pape qui vices suas in causa ista nobis commisit, mandamus atque precipimus, quatinus abbati Saviniacensi et ecclesie sue amodo obediatis et ab invatione et presumptione ac rebellione vestra, visis litteris istis, omnino desistatis atque liberam facultatem disponendi de rebus et possessionibus Farnesiensibus pro voluntate et arbitrio suo eidem abbati Saviniacensi habere permittatis. Quod nisi feceritis infra. XV. dies postquam mandatum nostrum susceperitis, sententiam excommunicationis in vos et in omnes qui vobis obedierint posuimus et licentiam vos ipsos excommunicandi et complices vestros, vice domini pape quam in causa ista fungimur, eidem abbati Saviniacensi concedimus.

III.

Hugo Dei gratia Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, omnibus monachis et conversis de Furnesia salutem et gratiam si obedierint. Religionis et honestatis est obedientiam et humilitatem tenere, arrogantiam vero et inobedientiam devitare. Causam quam commiserat nobis et filio nostro Arnulfo Lexoviensi episcopo dominus papa tractandam inter abbatem Saviniacensem et fratrem Petrum qui vobis prefuit assistantibus multis religiosis et honestis personis tractivimus et quum prefatus Petrus ad diem prefixam inter eos non affuit, nec aliquem qui pro se ageret ibidem habuit, adjudicata est et restituta abbatia Furnesiensis judicio personarum que affuerunt abbatie Saviniacensi. Postea vero supervenit preceptum apostolicum ut ipse Petrus et vos ad obedientiam Saviniacensis abbatis cito rediretis, nec ulterius ab ea recederetis. Ceterum si facere nolletis, precepit ut vice ejus tam ipsum Petrum quam vos excommunicaremus et anathematis sententia innodaremus. Petrus autem mandato apostolico obedivit et sese ad obedientiam et preceptum abbatis Saviniacensis reddidit. Unde vobis mandamus et auctoritate apostolica precipimus quatenus, juxta mandatum apostolicum, ad obedientiam abbatis Saviniacensis absque dilatione aliqua redeatis, nec de cetero eidem rebelles vel inobedientes existatis. Verumtamen si feceritis, vice ejus quam in causa ista tenemus, vos ipsos absolvimus; si non feceritis, anathematis vinculo innodamus.



EDMOND CASTLE ESTATE.

PART OF LONG WILLEY RIGGS, SURVEYED IN 1801.

	A.	A.	P.		A.	A.	P.
No. 51.—*Long Willey Riggs* -	1	3	14	No. 53.—*Holm* -	11	0	11
52.—*Great Long Willey Riggs*	6	0	16	54.—*Priest's Hole*	3	0	17

ART. II.—*The old Village of Edmond Castle.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Read at Carlisle, April 18th, 1907.

THE map of Hayton Manor, which I have described in a former paper, reveals the fact that there was, in former times, a small hamlet at Edmond Castle. The numerous entries in the parish register relating to that place lead one to infer that such was the case, but its very existence has been so completely forgotten that it may be well to put on record the few particulars concerning it which have been preserved.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century there were, in addition to my own family residence (which was then of smaller proportions than at present), four dwelling-houses at Edmond Castle known as follows :—

1.—"Dixon's," so named from the family of statesmen to whom it belonged. In 1759 John Dixon, formerly of Edmond Castle but then of Whitehaven, and Frances his wife, sold the house to my great-great-grandfather, Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle; and —— Westgarth of Hayton, who married one of the Dixons, lived there and farmed the land appurtenant to it. Subsequently Thomas Graham of Hayton, *alias* "Farmer Tommy," was occupier of the same land.

2.—"Willie's House," the property of John Graham, who died unmarried, and it descended to his brother, James Graham of Fenton. The latter sold it to my great-grandfather, Thomas Graham "of Lincoln's Inn" in 1784. The house had long been occupied by William Graham (a younger brother of James Graham of Fenton), and hence its appellation. William Graham went to live with his daughter, who married Isaac Fisher.

3.—"Charley Tom's," belonging to Thomas Graham, *alias* "Charley Tom." He had a son Thomas, who was known as "young Charley Tom." The property was conveyed to my family in 1785 by Charley Tom the younger and Frances his wife and Charley Tom the elder. They all removed to their own house at Hayton, which had been built by old Charley Tom's elder brother, George Graham, *alias* "Charley's Geordie." The latter died unmarried, and had three other brothers—James and William, who lived on Hayton High Moor, and Charles the youngest, who went to Kendal. Skellion belonged to these younger brothers.

4.—"Reed's," occupied by John Nixon, was purchased in 1786 from Joseph Reed, late of Edmond Castle, but then of Dalston Hall.

All these houses were demolished about the same date to make way for improvements. Their position is more particularly described in a graphic but somewhat marvellous narrative, in the handwriting of the late Thomas Henry Graham, entitled "Richard Brown's Reminiscences of old Edmond Castle," as follows :—

On the west side of the present road leading to the stables over the archway was Mr. Graham's house. Then a barn belonging to Dixon on the green lower down, and Dixon's house behind it. Reed's was at the corner* looking towards the sycamores.

On the east side of the same road, a little before you came to Mr. Graham's house, was Charley Tom's facing south, and on the site of the arbutus near the mount.† Below it was John Graham's house and barn, since called "Willie's House," where smugglers gathered eight or ten at a time with their horses, and British brandy was sold at fourteen pence per quart. John Graham, James Graham, and William Graham were three brothers. "Willie's John" was the son of William Graham.

* That is to say, near the hay barn and facing the sycamores at the bottom of the garden.

† On this mount are placed some stone slabs which lined the grave discovered in a field called "Dixon's Flatt," close to the lodge garden (these *Transactions*, o.s., vi., p. 470).

Reed's was occupied by Nixon. When Richard Brown and others were pulling down the buildings and taking down the old oven house, they found a keg of British brandy from the Isle of Man in the wall at the back side of the oven. Mr. Wills, James Graham, and Richard Graham of Stonehouse* came to see it. It was James Graham's birthday, and the men had been treated with a present. The houses were all thatched.

Smugglers had been in the habit of coming over by Brigwood Foot on Fridays. Simpson, the superintendent officer, lived at Rule Holme, and on one occasion came to Brigwood Foot Ellers and asked the smuggler for his permit. The smuggler put his hand into his breast and pulled out a double-barrelled pistol, and said: —"That is all the permit I have got!" Simpson on that fell back into a dub (pool of water). At that time Robin Bowman (not "Old" Bowman) lived at Brigwood Foot, and used to sit on the top of the hill with a cocked hat on a seat called "Robin's Seat." He was a fat man, with six or eight hounds. Brampton Park was then stocked with deer, which of a storm (in time of snow) came into the Castle Field and Nitchel Hills† seeking food, and the people set their dogs on them and sometimes killed and ate them, and made use of their skins for breeches. People went to watch for ducks at Pottleford‡ at night to shoot them, but were frightened by the ghosts. A girl who came from Low Gelt Bridge was frightened there, and died in consequence. Hayton High Moor was quite a rabbit warren. At Stonehouse and at Evans's (Robinson's cottage) there were places to fire out of.

The Scotch would come over to Brigwood Foot, and sometimes take a swine or fat beast. At Waygill Hill also on one occasion Heavyside, afterwards called "doughty Heavyside," killed one of the Scotch with a stone, and banished the troop.§

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* Mr. Wills was the incumbent of Hayton. James Graham was afterwards Sir James Graham, Bart., of Edmond Castle, and Richard Graham was his brother-in-law.

† The former place is at Low Moor, the latter near the Hayton lodge. Nitchel or knitchel means a small bundle or truss of hay (Jamieson).

‡ A moss at the mile stone on the road to Brampton. It may derive its name from old English—"Podel," a puddle.

§ The late Rev. Henry Whitehead, in his recently published *Talks about Brampton in the Olden Times*, makes the following comment on this passage of "Richard Brown's Reminiscences":—"The Talkin tradition of this incident is that the man who was killed by Heavyside was not a Scotchman, but one of the Bowmans of Brigwood Foot, and that he was killed, not by a stone, but by an arrow." By a singular coincidence, I find that at the muster of the Gilsland tenants in 1580 there were two archers from Talkin, one of whom was named William Heavyside (see Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 39), and that individual may have been the hero of this tale.

At the foot of Slackgate* were strong clay walls, the remains of a house where a strong man named Dixon lived, like a giant of a man, who could lift a great tree, top and all together. Boys would ride in the branches, while he shouted:—"The wind's strong, but Jock's stronger!"

The entries in the parish register seem to indicate that there was more than one family of the name of Dixon living at Edmond Castle, and the concluding passage of these reminiscences throws some light on the subject.

Mrs. Graham (*née* Coulthard) could remember that when she first came to Edmond Castle there was a building called the "porter's lodge" on the site of part of the old stables. We may gather from the above account that there was a village street extending from the head of the home pond as far as the hay barn at the edge of the park.

Edmond Castle is probably the site of a small peel tower. Tradition related that it derived its name from its first occupant, Edmund Graham, who built it when the adjacent land was lying common. It is even possible that the remains of some such structure may be embodied in the older portion of the existing mansion, which is an ancient building, but so disguised externally by modern masonry that it is no longer possible to ascertain whether that is the case.

The extracts from *The Household Books of Lord William Howard*, published by the Surtees Society, contain only a single reference to the place, and that is the payment of a small sum to Andrew Graham of Edmond Castle, but I am indebted to the editor of that work, the late Rev. George Ornsby, for another reference to a contemporary document at Castle Howard containing a list of statesmen in the manor of Hayton, who agree to relinquish

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* The deep "slack" in the park behind Byegill farmhouse. Byegill was originally common belonging to Stonehouse, but was purchased by Hetherington, grandfather of the narrator, Richard Brown. The adjacent house at "Low Moor" was the home farm of the Edmond Castle estate, and, as its name implies, was situate on a strip of Hayton Low Common.

certain claims and to pay to Lord William Howard a yearly and new increase of manorial dues. Among other names occur the following :—

Haiton.—Edward Muncaster, tenement in Haiton, 10^{s} and two capons.

Idem.—William Grame, tenement at Emount Castle, 8^{s} and two capons.

Liversdale.—Owld Wall. Thomas Graime, 10^{s} 2^{d} and two capons.

Haiton.—Emount Castle. Jenkin Dalton, 5^{s} and one capon at Pentecost.

I will hazard the opinion that the last named inhabitant occupied the dwelling near Low Gelt Bridge called "Jenkin's House" on the old map of the manor. The term "Edmond Castle" seems to have embraced all the adjoining portion of the parish.

By an indenture of mortgage, dated as late as the year 1693, Thomas Railton of Edmond Castle, whose family was long connected with Gelt House, conveyed to George Graham of Brampton Foot a messuage and tenement "within the town-fields, town-shire, and territories of Edmond Castle," and that leads me to think that Edmond Castle may have once upon a time formed a separate township of the parish of Hayton.

The land held by the villagers did not, as might be supposed, lie at Edmond Castle itself, for the "tenement" of those times was not in general a compact estate, but consisted of small plots of ancient land and large shares of enclosed common scattered in various parts of the manor, and intermixed with the property of other land-owners—a state of things resulting from the ancient, but then fast disappearing system of "open field cultivation." When Sir Frederick Eden wrote his account of *The State of the Poor* in 1794, the old order of things was passing away. He does not particularly mention Hayton, but

selects, as typical of the existing condition of affairs, one or two parishes immediately adjacent to it. Of Warwick he writes :—"Almost the whole of the cultivated land has been enclosed within the last fifty years. It formerly, although divided, lay in long slips or narrow 'dales,' separated from each other by 'ranes' or narrow ridges of land which are left unploughed. In this manner a great deal, and perhaps the whole, of the cultivated lands in Cumberland was anciently disposed." Of Castle Carrock he says :—"The greatest part of the parish remains in 'dales' or 'doles,' which are slips of cultivated land belonging to different proprietors, and separated from each other by ridges of grass land. About 100 acres may have been enclosed within the last fifty years." And again, when describing Cumrew, he writes :—"The land is cultivated in the old Cumberland manner. The grass ridges in the fields are from twenty to forty feet wide, and some of them 1000 feet in length. Grazing cattle often injure the crops."

The ancient "open field" belonging to the portion of the manor in which Edmond Castle is situated evidently comprised the alluvial lands in the Irthing valley known as "The Pickle," "Long Willey Riggs" (see map, p. 12), and "Hayton Holme," so far as they lay in the manor of Hayton. Adjoining it apparently was an "open field" belonging to the manor of Newby, and a small detached fragment of the manor of Wetheral of which the Dean and Chapter are lords. Those who have studied the interesting subject of open field cultivation "in rigg and rëan" will appreciate the following extracts from the deeds of the Edmond Castle estate, and their reference to "dales" and "riggs," "day's work of meadow," "cavels,"* "pickels," "yoakings," and "butts." These are all synonymous terms for the "acre strips" of an open field—dales are literally shares of land; riggs are ridged up furrows between unploughed grass ranes or rëans; a day's work of meadow explains itself; cavels and pickels are

old English terms for small plots of land; a yoking derives its name from the yoke used in ploughing; and butts are, properly speaking, transverse strips lying at right angles to the others so that their "headlands" or ends abutted on the sides of the latter.

I mention those items alone of the property conveyed in each case which seem to point to the former existence of an open or common field in this locality:—

1686.—John Graham the elder of Edmond Castle to John Graham the younger of Edmond Castle. Three yoaken at a place called "Pickle,"† on both sides of the water of Irding. Lord's rent, 1s 8d.

1716.—The same to the same. A messuage and tenement at Edmond Castle, comprising two parcels of land, one being three yoaking at a place called "The Pickle," near the river Irding, customary rent, 10d; and half an acre at "Long Willey Rigg" in Hayton Holme. Rent, 6d.

1718.—The same to the same, his eldest son and heir and Jane his wife. A piece of land containing three acres in Newby Holme, with consent of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, and one acre called "Pickle" nigh the river Irthing, and one day's work of meadow adjoining "Pickle." Customary rent, 3s 8½d bodel and one bushel of tythe meal to the Dean and Chapter.

1784.—James Graham of Fenton to Thomas Graham of Lincoln's Inn. Two tenements in the manor of Newby consisting of the following—three dales in Newby Holme, one of them in "Muckle Pickle Dales" and other two in "High Leases Dales," formerly customary and enfranchised by Lord Carlisle, and since

* The word "cavel" may be derived from the old Norse *hefti*, a stick.

† The large riverside meadow at Edmond Castle is still known as "The Pickle," and an estate map of 1812 shows a six acre field on the opposite bank of the Irthing called "Pickles."

divided, exchanged, and enclosed. Rent, 2s 6d. Also land in Newby Holme, held of the lords of the manor of Wetheral, being three acres in Newby Holme and one acre called "Pickle," and one parcel of meadow called a day's work lying at Pickle aforesaid. Rent, 3s 8½d.

1784.—James Graham of Fenton to the same. One acre of land in Hayton Holme called "Long Willy Rigg." Customary rent, 6d.

1786.—Joseph Reed of Dalston Hall, late of Edmond Castle to Thomas Graham of Lincoln's Inn. Two reputed acres in Hayton Holme called "Piper Dale" and "Saugh Buss," also a parcel called "Butts" and another parcel called "Ladylands Ford" and "Long Willy Rigg," and one rigg adjoining Hayton meadows, one small rigg between George Graham and Jenkin Dalton, also one thin cavel of land in Hayton Holme and one acre called "Priest's Hole," on the old watercourse. Rents, 6d and 4d.

1786.—John Bell of Boonhill (?) to John Brown and Anne his wife. Assignment by way of mortgage of lands in Hayton Holme, held at the customary rents of 4s, 1s 10d, 1s 8d, 6d, 6d, 2d, and 1d.

1791.—John Brown, late of Bygill, now of Hayton, tailor, and Anne his wife to the same. Lands in Hayton Holme called "Black Dales," "Holme Meadow," "Long Syke," "Butts" (now dales), "Piper Dale Hole," "Short Yoking," "Willey Riggs," "Smith Bushdale," "Ash Bushdale," and "Long Yoking," containing 13 acres, held under Lord Carlisle.

1792.—Abraham Bird of Hayton to the same. Dales in Hayton Holme, part of which was then in the water beds. Customary rent, 8d.

1793.—Robert Clarke of Sebergham Hall, late of Warwick Bridge, to James Graham of Lincoln's Inn. One acre of freehold land in Newby or Hayton Holme.

1793.—Thomas Wannop of Holme House, Wetheral, to Thomas Graham of Lincoln's Inn. Eleven parcels of land in Hayton Holme containing six acres (except a piece of the above called "Bishop Ford Yoking," but now enclosed in a field called "Span Close," containing three roods, for which the vendor is to pay 6^{d} rent to the Earl of Carlisle). Customary rent, 4^{s} 6^{d}.

1805.—John Westgarth of Brunstock to Thomas Graham of Lincoln's Inn. Customary conveyance of land in Hayton Holme, called "Long Willow Riggs," three roods. Rent, 1^{d}.

1805.—John Newton of Hayton to the same. Parcel of land in Hayton Holme called "Long Willy Rigg," containing three roods, bounded by land of Charley Tom on the east and Irthing on the west. Customary rent, 1^{d}.

1807.—Thomas Graham of Hayton to the same. A piece of uninclosed customary land in Hayton Holme called "Irthing Gate." Rent, 2^{s}.

1814.—Thomas Graham of Hayton (Smith Tommy) to Thomas Henry Graham of Trinity College, Cambridge. Three roods in "Long Willy Riggs." Customary rent, 3^{d}.

1815.—Christopher Wannop of Bankhead to Thomas Henry Graham of Edmond Castle. Customary conveyance of four acres in Hayton Holme, bounded on the east, north, and south by land of the purchaser called "Long Yoking," and on the south-west by the river Irthing. Rent, 2^{s} 6^{d}. Subject also to the payment of one penny to the county rate, and 6 pecks of meal, in lieu of tithe of corn and grain.

The sketch map (p. 12) is interesting, because it shows "Long Willey Riggs," above referred to, in process of inclosure. The numbered plots formed part of the

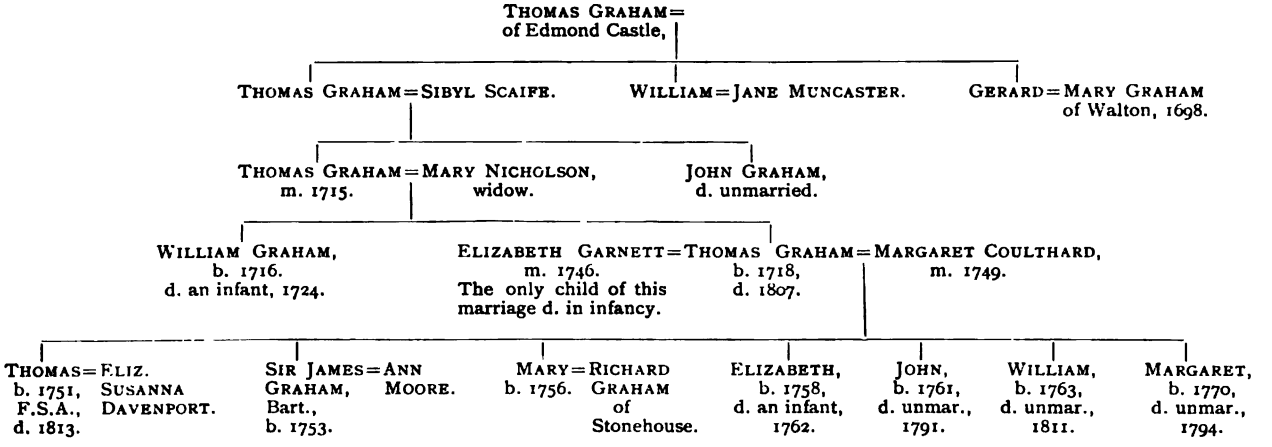
Edmond Castle estate, Nos. 51 and 52 still bearing the old name. Were it not for this map I should have been at a loss to identify the former site of "Long Willey Riggs," for the name does not appear on the later maps. The locality was much intersected by channels of the river Irthing. In the middle of the map are "dales," belonging to John Wannop and Christopher Wannop. The dotted lines seem to indicate the absence of fences.

It only remains to mention some particulars regarding the Grahams of Edmond Castle during the period covered by this paper—that is to say from 1620, when the old parish register begins, until the close of the eighteenth century, a space of 180 years. During the era of the Commonwealth, Thomas Graham was the owner of the family estate at Edmond Castle. The tabulated pedigree is not dated, but making the usual allowance of thirty years for a generation, he must have been born about the year 1630. He left three sons:—

1. Thomas, who married Sibyl Scaife of Old Wall. He sold a property at Old Wall which possibly belonged to him in right of his wife.
2. William, who married a widow named Jane Muncaster.
3. Gerard, who married Mary Graham of Walton. This marriage appears in the Walton parish register under the date November 23rd, 1698.

Thomas and Sibyl Graham lived at Edmond Castle, and had two sons, Thomas and John. The younger died unmarried, but the elder Thomas married Mary Nicholson, a widow, of Warwick Bridge. Their marriage took place at Wetheral Church on April 13th, 1715, the year in which the Old Pretender was proclaimed King of England at Brampton. They resided for many years at Warwick Bridge, but eventually returned to live with their father and mother at Edmond Castle. Thomas and Mary

Pedigree of Graham of Edmond Castle.



Graham had two children only—William, baptised at Wetheral, March 4th, 1716, died when a boy, and was buried at the same place April 18th, 1724. Thomas, the surviving son, was also born at Warwick Bridge in 1718. His first wife was Elizabeth Garnett, and they were married in 1746 by Chancellor Burn at Orton in Westmorland. The father's marriage coincided with the date of the first Scotch Rebellion, and the son's with that of the second. It was on the occasion of his first marriage that Thomas Graham the younger planted the large Scotch fir tree which is still standing in front of the house at Edmond Castle, and it has always been regarded as a memorial of the invasion of the county by the Young Pretender. Elizabeth Graham died sixteen months later, as did also her child.

A family prayer-book contains the following entry:—"My dear wife died the 15th day of December, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, being 24 years of age. Her funeral sermon was preached by the Reverend George Gilbanks, minister at Wetheral." On the fly-leaf is scrawled in a childish hand:—

Elizabeth Garnett's book
God gave her grace on it to look
And when the bells . . . .

a popular rhyme which concludes:—

. . . . begin to toll
The Lord have mercy on her soul.

Thomas Graham married secondly Margaret, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Coulthard of Scotby. This marriage also took place at Wetheral Church on January 31st, 1749. All the children were born at Edmond Castle, and were as follows:—

1. Thomas, born 1751, admitted an attorney of King's Bench June 28th, 1773, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries 29th April, 1808; married (1791)

Elizabeth Susanna, daughter of John and Elizabeth Davenport of Clapham Common, Surrey. He succeeded to the family estate at Edmond Castle, but only survived his father a few years. He died June 23rd, 1813, at Clapham Common, and was buried in the vault belonging to his wife's family at Acton, Middlesex.

2. James, born 1753, afterward Sir James Graham, Bart., and M.P. for Carlisle; married (1781) Ann, daughter of the Rev. John Moore of Kirkstall, Yorkshire. He died March 21st, 1825, and was buried at Hendon, Middlesex.

3. Mary, born 1756, married (1791) Richard Graham of Stonehouse, Hayton.

4. Elizabeth, born 1758, and died an infant 1762.

5. John, born 1761, and died unmarried in 1791. He is buried beneath the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, having been a member of the Honourable Society.

6. William, born 1763, admitted a solicitor of the High Court of Chancery February 20th, 1794, and died unmarried February 27th, 1811. He is buried at Hendon, Middlesex.

7. Margaret, born 1770, died unmarried March 13th, 1794, and is buried at Littleham, Exmouth.

Mrs. Graham's brother, James Coulthard, married Mary Whelpdale of Skirsgill, and was a solicitor practising in London. All his nephews began their legal career in his office, and Thomas and James eventually became partners in the firm, which is still in existence at Lincolns Inn. James Graham planted the old cherry tree growing near the house when he first went as a boy to London in November, 1769.

Thomas Graham, my great-great-grandfather, his three sons (Thomas, James, and William), Richard Graham of

Stonehouse, and Mr. Wills were all Justices of the Peace for the county, and their names appear in the commission of 1802.

Mr. Wills, whose name has been mentioned several times in this paper, was a great-nephew of Bishop Gibson. He was perpetual curate of Hayton for nearly half a century—that is to say, from 1756 till his death in 1804. He was simultaneously perpetual curate of Cumwhitton. Hayton Church was rebuilt in 1780 during his incumbency, and thirteen years later Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle obtained a faculty to enlarge the building by erecting an aisle or pew with a vault beneath it "for the sole and exclusive use of himself and family to sit, stand, kneel, pray, and hear divine service and sermons in the said pew, and to be interred in the said vault."

The faculty is granted by the Rev. William Paley, the bishop's vicar-general, who resided at Head's Nook in Hayton parish, and there wrote his *Evidences of Christianity*. The parsonage of Hayton at that period was "a thatched dwelling house built and repaired by the lessee of the white tithes,"* and stood on the site of the modern villa called Norman House.

My great-great-grandfather, Thomas Graham, died at Edmond Castle, October 12th, 1807, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the family vault at Hayton. The nine pall-bearers were Philip Howard, Esq., Corby Castle; Joseph Liddell, Esq., Moorhouse; Rowland Fawcett, Esq., Scaleby Castle; Robert Bonner Warwick, Esq., Warwick Hall; John Graham, Esq., Low House; William Henry Milbourne, Esq., Armathwaite Castle; Thomas Ramshay, Esq., Naworth Castle; the Rev. John Stamper of Irthington and James Graham, Esq., of Barrock Lodge, who was, however, prevented by some accident from attendance.

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* Hayton Terrier, 1777.

His widow died in 1816 at Stonehouse, the residence of her daughter, in her ninety-first year. She too had nine pall-bearers after the fashion of the time. They were:—Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Paley, Mrs. James Forster, Mrs. Ramshay, Miss Clarke, Mrs. Blamire, Mrs. Lowry, Mrs. Kennedy, and Miss Anderson. *Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*

The following extracts from the earliest register book of Hayton parish, giving the names of the villagers at Edmond Castle from 1628 to 1721, were kindly supplied to me by the late Rev. Canon Dixon when vicar of Hayton. He took great pains to transcribe them, but the original record has suffered so severely from ill-treatment and neglect that it has become to a great extent illegible. Canon Dixon has briefly described the register in these *Transactions*, o.s., iv., p. 425.

ENTRIES IN THE OLD HAYTON REGISTER RELATING TO EDMOND CASTLE.

Baptisms.*

1650.—Christopher the sonne of John Nixon of Edmond Castle bapt the 21. of November 1650.

1656.—Jane the daughter of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. the 20th of Julye 1656.

1656.—John the son of John Graham of Edmond Castle baptd 12th of Novemb. 1656.

1658.—Henrie the sonne of John Dixon of Edmond Castle bapt the the second day of Decemb. 1658.

1660.—Annas the daughter of Thomas Graham (?) of Edmond Castle bapt. the fifth daie of Jan. 1660.

1665.—Janet the daughter of Quintin Crosse (?) of Edmond Castle bapt. the 18th of Feb. 1665.

1665.—Humfrey the son of John Grame of Edmond Castle bapt. the 18th of Maie 1665.

1667.—Edward (?) the son of Thomas Grame of Edmond Castle bapt the 22nd of Sept. 1667.

* The baptisms do not commence so early as the burials and marriages. The book containing the previous baptisms has been lost.

1676.—Annas the daughter of Jo. Shepherd of Edmond Castle bapt. the tenth daie of Sept. 1676.

1684.—Tho. son of Tho. Graham of Edmond Castle August the 8th.

1690.— . . . . . Tho. Graham of Edmond Castle was . . . . . ye 7th.

1691.—Ann daughter of John Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. December ye 6th.

1696.—James son of John Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. March ye 29th.

1696.—William son of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle bapt March ye 14th.

1697.—Charles son of Geo. Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. March ye 6th.

1698.—George son of John Graham of Edmond Castle baptised ye same day [Feb. 26th].

1701.—John the son of Christopher Dixon of Edmond Castle bapt. February ye 4th.

1703.—John the son of Thomas Dixon of Edmond Castle bapt. May ye 30th.

1704.—Mary daughter of Christopher Dixon of Edmond Castle 8tober *(sic)* 22nd.

1705.—Thomas son of Thomas Dixon of Edmond Castle bapt. July ye 15th.

1705.—Jane ye daughter of John Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. ye same day [23rd Sept.].

1705.—George ye son of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. March ye 14th.

1707.—Thos. the son of Thos. Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. Feb. 27th.

1709.—John son of Tho. Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. March ye 22.

1711.—Thomas son of John Graham of Edmond Castle. Nov. ye 25th.

1712.—James & William, twins, sons of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. April ye 20th.

1714.—Mary daughter of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle, bapt. August the 20th.

1717.—John son of John Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. Nov. ye 11th.

1718.—Jane daughter of Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle bapt. June ye 11th.

1719.—James son of John Graham of Edmond Castle baptised November ye 13th private baptism.

1719.—Mary daughter of Joseph Reed of Edmond Castle bapt Feb. ye 29th.

1720.—Charles son of Thomas Thompson of Edmond Castle March 2 . . . . .

1721.—Ambrose son of John Graham of Edmond Castle November ye 27th.

BURIALS.

1628.—James Graim (?) de Edmond Castle sepult. fuit quarto die Junii 1628.

1633.—Marina (?) Ellison als. Mall Bell de Edmond C. sepult. fuit . . . . simo die Januarii 1633.

1636.—James Hoodles de Edmond Castle sepult fuit nono die May. 1636.

1641.—Alexander Ellison of Edmond Castle buried xxii daie of March 1641.

1642.—Johannes Dixon de Edmond Castle sepult fuit xii die Julii 1642.

1644.—Margaret Hoodless of Edmond Castle buried the 30th daie of December 1644.

1645.—Thomas Mulcaster of Edmond Castle buried the same day [6th Jan.] 1645.

1647.—Lancelot the son of John Dixon of Edmond Castle buried the 18th daie of April 1647.

1648.—John Grame the son of David Grame of Edmond Castle buried the 30th of August 1648.

1650.—Ann the daughter of Thomas Grame of Edmond Castle buried the same daie [6th Feb.].

1653.—Thos. Dixon of Edmond Castle buried the sixth of November 1653.

1661.—. . . . . Ellison of Edmond Castle widow buried the xix^th^ daie of Sept. 1661.

1666.—Wm. Presse (?) of Edmond Castle buried the 16th of December 1666.

1667.—Quintin Presse (?) of Edmond Castle buried the 16. of December 1667.

1668.—Frances Dixon of Edmond Castle Widdow buried the xix^th^ of Sept. 1668.

1676.—Annas the daughter [of] Jo. Stephenson of Edmond Castle buried the xvi day of Novemb. 1676.

1681.—. . . . . Graham of Edmond Castle buried August the twentieth.

1695.—Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle buried March ye 25th.

1697.—Wm. Reed of Edmond Castle buryed Sept. ye 5th.

1698.—Ann the wife of George Graham of Edmond Castle buryed April ye 8th.

1699.—Mary ye wife of George Armstrong of Edmond Castle buryed Aug. ye 25th.

1701.—George Graham of Edmond Castle buryed July ye 15th.

1711.—James son of George Graham of Edmond Castle buried August ye 22nd.

1711.—Ann the wife of John Graham of Edmond Castle the 5th of March.

1717.—. . . . . Dixon of ye Castle buryed May ye 1st.

1720.—Thos. son of Thomas Dixon of Edmond Castle Feby 14th.

1720.—Ann Graham from Edmond Castle buryed Feb ye 15th.

1720.—Alice wife of Thos. Thompson of Edmond Castle Mar. 3^d^.

MARRIAGES.

1628.—Alexander Ellison de Edmond Castle et Catherina Taylor nupti fuerunt 29. Jan.

1628.—Johannes (?) Railton de Hayton et Janeta Dixon de Edmond Castle in parochia de Hayton (nupti) fuerunt xxviii die . . . 1628.

1636.—Johannes Skarrow (?) de . . . . . in parochia de Cumwhitton et Margarita Hoodles de Edmond Castle nupti fuerunt . . . imo die Decemb. 1636.

1639.—Johannes Dixon de Edmond Castle et . . . . Railton de Gelt house nupti fuerunt decimo tertio die Novemb. 1639.

1642.—. . . . . Geo. Dixon de Edmond Castle et Mary (?) Mi^gble^ (?) of the same married the 22 die Julii 1642.

1646.—Johannes Grame (?) de Edmond Castle et El . . . . Dixon de eadem nupti fuerunt tertio die Augusti 1646.

1664.—Jo. Dalton of Edmond Castle a servant Wm Crosse & Margaret Crosse of the same . . . . married the xvi of April 1664.

1676.—Christopherson (?) of the parish of Landroft . . . . Isabel Dixon of Edmond Castle married . . . . of June 1676.

The register then becomes so dog's-eared that nothing more can be made out.

ART. III.—*On the Manufacture of Iron at Leighton Furnace in Yealand Redman.* By JOHN RAWLINSON FORD.

Read at Carlisle, April 18th, 1907.

FROM time to time papers have appeared in the *Transactions* on the subject of the bloomeries of High Furness—in particular, "Reports on Excavations at Springs Bloomery near Coniston Hall, Lancashire, with Notes on the probable age of the Furness Bloomeries, by H. S. Cowper and W. G. Collingwood" (see these *Transactions*, vol. xv., p. 211). These papers deal mainly with the probable age of the furnaces. But I have recently come across an account of the mode of manufacturing pig-iron at Leighton Furnace, which lay between Yealand and Arnside, and it is, I think, sufficiently interesting to warrant its publication in the *Transactions*. It is contained in John Lucas' "Antiquities and History of the Parish and Parish Church of Warton in Lancashire," a MS. in two volumes which, after having been lost sight of for 120 years, has recently been discovered in the library of one of his descendants.

In Appendix C to the *Beetham Repository* (Tract Series, No. 7) I collected all the available information about Lucas and his history of Warton, and this, by means of the review of the work in the *Yorkshire Post*, came to the notice of Mr. Darcy Bruce Wilson of Seacroft Hall, near Leeds, who told me that the "History" was in his library where it had lain, he believed, above one hundred years. Mr. Wilson's great-grandfather, John Wilson, married (December 21st, 1761) Sarah Lucas, a daughter of the historian's eldest son Richard, and I suppose, therefore, that on her father's death in 1785 the book came into her possession. This might account for Dr. Whitaker's state-

ment in 1816 that, having perused the MS. about thirty years ago, he had since in vain endeavoured to retrieve it.

The work was compiled between the years 1710 and 1744. It is in two volumes folio, closely written, and notwithstanding that a large proportion of it is taken up with prolix and wearisome disquisitions on every conceivable subject except the parish of Warton, there is much that is valuable and interesting. Lucas' account of Leighton Furnace in Yealand Redman throws light upon its origin, but is particularly valuable because of his description of the method of working the furnace and manufacturing pig-iron, and I shall therefore give it *verbatim*.

Lucas says that the furnace was erected soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century by the proprietors of ironworks in Furness, who had purchased the fall of wood in Leighton Park; and he says in another part of the same volume that as soon as Sir George Middleton's widow, Lady Anne Middleton, was dead, the wood was sold; and again, "as soon as his (*i.e.*, Sir George Middleton's) Lady relict was dead, the wood was sold *a corylo ad Quercum*." She died in April, 1705, so that we can now approximately fix the date of the erection of the furnace as probably the end of 1705 or beginning of 1706. Lucas makes no mention of iron ore being found in Yealand, but says it was brought across the bay from Stenton (Stainton) in Furness, yet I have in my possession a lease dated February 19th, 1719, granted by the lord of the manor of Yealand of the mines of lead, copper, iron, and tin in the wastes and customary lands of the manor. It seems likely that the erection of the furnace was due to the growing scarcity of wood in Furness and to the abundance of wood at Leighton, else it would not have been worth while to ship the ore across the bay. Lucas says, indeed, that "the whole park and several other parts of the lordship here were till of late covered with wood

of several kinds, so that the house was surrounded therewith." But probably the presence of the furnace stimulated the search for iron ore in the neighbourhood, and there are many signs of mining on land formerly part of the wastes of the manor.

Lucas, in another part of the same volume, gives an account of the burning of charcoal, which I have added to the description of iron manufacture.

If we compare the method of smelting ore as carried on at Leighton Furnace with the most modern method—for instance, that employed at the Carnforth Ironworks—we find that the principle is the same, and the changes have been merely in the direction of increasing the effectiveness.

I have shewn Lucas' account to Mr. Edward Barton of Warton Grange, who has so long and so successfully managed the Carnforth works, and he has kindly lent me plans of his furnaces. I find that while the size of the modern furnace has been enormously increased, the shape is the same—except that while Leighton was square, the former is now circular. The bottom of the well into which the molten metal drops is still called the well, the slag (or dross, as Lucas calls it) is still taken out through an aperture at the top of the well, and the liquid iron is still run into a "sow" and "pigs." But though a blast of air driven into the fire is still the principle of the modern blast furnace, the improvement in method is here perhaps most marked. Instead of cold air forced in by a pair of bellows hot air is now employed for the blast, and at Carnforth 30,000 cubic feet of air at a temperature of 1200° to 1500° Fahr. are driven into the furnace every minute. Lucas says that the ore was, before being smelted, burnt or calcined in a kiln. Mr. Barton says that where hematite only is used it is no longer necessary to do so, though in Cleveland and in Staffordshire the ore is still roasted.

The following extracts are taken from the second volume of Lucas' "History," the pagination of which is continuous with that of the first, and for convenience of reference I have shewn the pages by figures in the margin. The footnotes are by Lucas.

THE FURNACE.

(464) Soon after the Beginning of this (18th) Century, The Proprietors of the Iron Works in Forness, having purchased the Fall of Leighton Park, and several other considerable Quantities in that Demesn and Places not far distant, erected a Furnace here upon a Goit drawn out of Leighton Beck, for
(465) the smelting of Iron: as a Forge had been a few Years before built at Kere Holm very near the Borders of this Parish upon Account of the Fall of Dalton Park &c[a] The mighty Destruction of Wood, occasioned by the great Quantity of Iron made in this Kingdom has long been complained of in all Parts of the Nation; and not without very good Reason: for in the County of Sussex alone there are, or lately were, no less than One Hundred and Thirty Furnaces and Hammers, which by an exact Computation* are found to consume Yearly ninety four Thousand nine Hundred Loads of Charcoal, to the extravagant Consumption of Timber

* * * * *

(500) But to come to a particular Description of this Furnace. It is built like most others, against the Side of an Hill, in a square Form, the Sides descending obliquely about Six Yards, and drawing nearer one another towards the Bottom like the Hopper of a Mill. These oblique Walls terminate at
(501) the Top of a perpendicular Square called the Hearth whose Side is about 4½ Feet, which is lined with the best Fire Stone to take off the Force of the Fire from the Walls, and to hold the fluid Metal which drops into it as it melts. The Top of the Furnace is covered with a large thick Iron Plate, in the Middle of which is a Hole about ¾ of a Yard square where they throw in the Fuel and Ore. When they begin to work a New Furnace, they put in Fire for two or three Days before they begin to blow, which they call Seasoning; at first they

* Smith's *England's Improvement Revived*, pp. 9, 10.

blow gently, gradually increasing, till in about three Weekes Time the Fire will be so intense that they can run a Sow and Pigs once in about twelve Hours: and after they are once kindled they are kept at Work Day and Night for many Months or Years, still supplying the Wast of the Fuel & other Materials wth fresh poured in at ye Top.

The Ore they use here is brought across the Bay by Coasters from Stenton in Furness, where it is found lying in the Cliffs [*i.e.*, clefts] of the Rocks of gray Limestone:* The Veins are sometimes an Inch, sometimes a Foot, and sometimes three or four Yards broad, which they have followed towards the Centre of the Earth for many Fathoms. The Orê which lies at the outside of the Vein, or near the Rock on either Side is hard, and that which is in the Middle is commonly soft like Clay. They are both red or else bluish, and smooth as Velvet to the Touch when broken. As for the medicinal Uses of this Ore, they use the soft sort frequently, and with great success, for the Murrain in Cattle, and for most Diseases in Swine they give a Handfull or two in Milk.

When the Ore which the Workmen here commonly call the Mine, is brought to the Furnace, their first Work is to burn it in a Kiln, much after the Fashion of our ordinary Limekilns; a Thing we find practised not only in the Iron Works in Sweeden,† but also in all the Mines of Hungary, whether Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead or Lapis Calaminaris.‡ These Kilns they here fill up to the Top with Turf and Ore Stratum super Stratum, and then putting Fire to the Bottom let it burn till the Fuel be wasted, and the mere drossy Part of the Ore consumed, and the other Part rendered more soft and malleable; otherwise if it should be put into the Furnace as it comes out of the Earth, it would not melt but come away whole. Care also must be taken that it be not over much burned, for then it would loop, i.e. melt and run together in a Mass. After it is burnt they beat it into
(502) small Pieces on the Rost-Hearth as the Germans call it, wth an Iron Sledge or large Hammer, and then cast it into the Furnace (which is before charged with a certain Quantity of Charcole and Turf) and with it a small Quantity of Limestone

* How it is supposed to be brought thither, see Dr. Woodward's *Nat. Hist. of the Earth*, p. 153.

† Thalinus in *Dissertatione de Ferro*, p. 32.

‡ Dr. Brown's *Travels*, pp. 59, 66, 68, 170, and 183.

and old Cinders; these all run together into a hard Cake or Lump which is sustained by the Fashion of the Furnace, through the Bottom of which, the Metal as it melts by the Violence of the Blast, trickles down into the Hearth or Receiver, where there is a Passage open much like the Mouth of an Oven, by which they clear away the Scum and Dross, which they always take off from the melted Iron before they let it run.

When they find the Fuel to have subsided something more than a Yard (which they prove by an Iron Gauge or Instrument much like a Flail) which is in the Space of about an Hour, they fill the Furnace again. Their Charging here consists of a certain Quantity of very hard black Turf (the best in its kind of any perhaps in England which is dug up in Arnset Moss, about half a Mile from them) and Charcoal, upon which they threw four Hundred Weight of burnt Ore of different Sorts and Goodness, together with a 10th or 12th Part as much Slaken as the Germans call them, or old Cinders, wch they here call Forest Cinders, and the same Quantity of Limestone beaten into small Pieces, to make it melt freely and cast the Cinders. We find that in Hungary they not only mix its own Cinders in melting their Several sorts of Ore, but also a certain Quantity of Stone, generally Pyrites;* and a late Author† informs us that the French in their Iron Furnaces make use of a Sort of Sand Stone wch they call Flux Stone, which they say not only helps the Fusion, and separates the metalick from the earthy Particles, but that the vitrified Sand, being a liquid Mass of Fire, keeps in a State of Agitation the finer Grains of Sand and the saline and earthy Particles, which after Ignition fix into a consistent Body. And this they think preferable to Limestone which in their Opinion serves only as a Crust or covering to reverberate the Heat, and to make it act with more Force inwardly on the Ore which is mixed with the Coals; But if the longest and largest Experience may be allowed as Judge, we shall find Limestone pronounced the most proper Assistant in
(503) melting Iron Ore: for the Swedes‡ who (notwithstanding the great Quantities we make) do yet furnish us with near two thirds of the Iron wrought up and consumed in the Kingdom, besides the vast Quantity they export to other Parts of the

* Dr. Brown's *Travels ut Supra.*

† *Nature Display'd*, vol. iii., Dial. xxvi., pp. 330, 331, 332.

‡ Salmon's *Mod. Hist.*, vol. xv., p. 387.

World, have always used it, and find it so absolutely necessary that the Mine will not run to so good Advantage without it.*

They have found here by Experience, that Turf, which is here both very good and very cheap, doth not only spare Charcoal, but makes better Iron than Charcoal alone: upon which Account it is that the Iron made at this Furnace is much preferable to that which was made some years since at Milthorpe in this Neighbourhood, where Charcoal was the only Fuel they made Use of.

The Water does not here blow the Fire by a Pair of Philosophical Bellows,† as at the Brass Works at Trivoli near Rome;‡ but behind the Furnace are placed two huge Pair of Bellows, each 7½ Yards long, and 1½ Yard broad, whose Noses meet at a little Hole near the Bottom of the Furnace. These Bellows are compressed together by certain Buttons placed in the Axis of a very large Wheel, which is turned about by Water in the Manner of an overshot Mill. As soon as these Buttons are slid off, the Bellows are raised again by the Counterpoise of Weights, whereby they are made to play alternately, the one giving their Blast all the Time the other is rising. The Axis of this Wheel is 12 Yards long, and its Diameter is ten Yards within the Rim: so that allowing for the Thickness of the Rim, and the Depth of the Buckets, it will, I think, be found to exceed those at the great Copper Mines in Sweden whose Circumference according to Naucleus§ is but about one Hundred Foot: and to be much about the Size of that observed by Dr. Brown a considerable Depth in one of the Hungarian Mines,‖ which being turned about by the Fall of a subterraneous Torrent moved Engines which pumped out the Waters from the Bottom of the Mine into a Cavity wherein this Wheel (whose Diameter is 12 Yards) is placed, whence it runs out at the Foot of the Mountain: but it will be found to fall short of the Size of that mentioned by Dr. Leopold, the Diameter of which he says was forty eight Foot, and the Machien it moves draws up Buckets full 800 Foot.¶

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* *Leopoldus De Itinere suo Suecico*, p. 80.
† Dr. Powell's *Hist. of Manual Arts*, p. 34.
‡ *Philos. Trans.*, No. 2.
§ Olaus Nauclerus, *De Magna Fodina Cuprimontana*, pp. 18, 19, &c.
‖ Dr. Brown's *Trav.*, p. 58 Fol.
¶ *De Itin. Suo. Suec.*, p. 57.

When the Furnace is fit to run, as they term it, which is once in about 12 Hours, they make a long Furrow through
(504) the Middle of a level Bed of Sand directly before the Mouth thereof, which they call the Sow, and out of it on each Side eleaven or twelve smaller for the Pigs, and all these they make greater or lesser according to the Quantity of their Metal which is then nothing but a Torrent of liquid Fire, made so very fluid by the Violence of the Heat, that when it is let out of the Receiver or Hearth, by breaking a Lump of Clay out of a Hole at the Bottom thereof, with a long Iron Poker, it not only runs to the utmost distance of the Furrows, but stands boiling in them for a considerable Time. Upon the Extinction of the Fire the Redness goes off and the metallick Particles coalesce and subside one upon another, and it begins to look blackish at the Top: then they break the Sow and Pigs off from one another, and the Sow into the same Lengths with the Piggs, which is now done with ease; whereas if let alone till they were quite cold, the doing of it would be much more difficult. This Running of the Iron calls to my Mind what is said by Mons. le Grand* and others about the Invention of Metals by Tubal Cain: for he, they say, observing Iron to run from a burning Mountain, and to grow hard in what Form it happened to meet with a Mould, took the Hint thereby to contrive the casting of Metals.

The Hearth grows wider by using, so that their Runnings are much larger at the latter End than at the Beginning: for the Master Founder here told me on the 12th of June 1717 that they ran ab^{t} Sixteen or Seventeen Hundred Weight at a Time, and in the Year 1721, he told my Brother† they then ran twenty-two Hundred Weight. When they cast Backs for Chimneys, Rollers for Gardens, Pots‡ or Pans &c^{a} they make Moulds of fine Sand, into which they pour the liquid Metal with great Ladles, as they do who cast Brass or other softer Metals. But this sort of Iron having not undergone the Preparation of the Finery and Chafery in the Forge, are so very brittle that with one Blow of a Hammer, it will break all to Pieces, especially if it be hot.

We are told by Dr. Brown§ that the Silver Ore in the

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* Antonii le Grand, *Historia Sacra*, p. 18.

† My Brother's Letter to me in 1721.

‡ See the Manner of making Pots to boil Meat in of a Sort of Slate Stone in *Dr. Burnet's Letters*, p. 95. Edit. Rotterdam, 1686.

§ Dr. Brown's *Travels*, pp. 66, 68.

Mines of Hungary affords but about an Ounce, sometimes scarce half an Ounce in 100 Pounds Weight; but that the Ore of the Copper Mine of Herm Grundt is very rich, and in an 100 lb. yields ordinarily 20, and sometimes, 30, 40, 50 and sometimes 60 Pounds. By the same Reason the Mine here may also be said to be very rich, for it we compare the Chargings and Runnings in 12 Hours as above we shall find that 100 lb of Ore yields 40 lb of Iron, or upwards.

* * * * *

(505) I have observed above that they take off the Scum or Dross from the fluid Iron at a Place even with the Top of the Hearth, and throw it down the Hill before the Door of the Furnace. Amongst this Slag I observed Abundance of Glass; for the Limestone, which of its own Nature would burn immediately into a Calx, is here by Reason of a metalick Mixture, melted into an opack vitreous Substance.

* * * * *

(605) In this Part of the Country they generally let their Oaks stand a Year after they are pill'd, which Custom Dr. Plot observed in Staffordshire, and recommended it to his Majesty. For the Winter Air closes the Pores of pilled Wood, and so consequently consolidates all Trees, but especially the Oak does thereby, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, acquire a Sort of Eternity in its Duration . . . . . Their Top & Under Wood they here make into Charcoal, the Method of which is this. They cut or rive the Wood into Pieces which
(606) they make up into Cords or Stacks (a Cord by Statute is to be 8 Foot long, 4 Foot broad, and 4 high, and every Stick at least 3 Inches about). They place their Pieces all upright in 3 several Stories, S. S. S. in a Conic, or rather in a Cupalo Form, having first struck a Stake into the Ground in the middle of the lowest Floor for the rest to lean upon. Such a Pile they call their Hearth, and in some Places, though very improperly, a Pit. They cover the Wood with a thin Covering of Straw or Stubble, and over that they place a Layer of Sand or Earth. They leave a Hole at the Top of the Pile, where they put in the Fire, and then cover it up. They make here and there small Vent-holes for the Smoak as they see Occasion, and take particular Care, never to let it Flame, for that would consume the Wood. A whole Hearth will be coal'd in six or seven Days. Six Loads of Wood will make but one of Charcoal. The greener the Wood the weightier

and more lasting is the Coal made of it. 'Tis computed that about Five Hundred Thousand Pounds' worth of Timber is fell'd, and about as much spent in Fireing, in England every Year, besides what is imported from our Colonies in America; from whence we have, according to Mr Dummer* the fairest and largest Masts in the World, besides Plank, Knees for Ships, and other Species of Timber for various Uses.

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* Mr. Dummer's *Apology for New England.*

THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE AT PLUMPTON.

Photo. by Mr. Geo. Reed.

THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE AT GREAT SALKELD.

Photo. by Rev. J. M. Rodger.

TO FACE P. 41.

ART. IV.—*Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house.* By the Rev. J. H. COLLIGAN.

Read at Carlisle, April 18th, 1907.

THERE are no registers or books in connection with the congregation at Great Salkeld. In 1822, the Rev. Timothy Nelson, who was then eighty-four years of age, drew up a list of ministers who had been connected with Great Salkeld and Penruddock. It was copied in 1894, by the Rev. Thomas Colligan, but the original has since been lost. The legal documents in the Synod safe of the Presbyterian Church of England are as follows :—

1. AN INDENTURE, DATED MARCH 30TH, 1823.

The trustees had been reduced to the Rev. Timothy Nelson of Great Salkeld, and Mr. Samuel Hall of Brocklemoor, in the parish of Lazonby. In accordance with the instructions of an earlier deed (apparently lost) new trustees were appointed. The original deed enjoined that when the trustees were reduced to the number of two, an addition of two or more should be made. The 1823 deed states that when the surviving trustees shall be reduced to the number of two, six or more shall be appointed, and perhaps this is a comment upon the ruin that had come to many of the meeting-houses through the investment of their property in the hands of a small number of trustees. The trust consisted of the two meeting-houses at Great Salkeld and Plumpton, and the town-fields at Great Stainton, called Knott Dalt, containing 2 acres 17 perches, for the use of the joint congregations of Great Salkeld and Plumpton. Should a vacancy arise, the congregations were to receive the

rents, and to use them for the supply of the pulpits. Should the congregations dissolve, or the meeting-houses be converted to any other use, the rents (during such vacancy only) might be used by the Protestant dissenting ministers at Penrith. "The trustees or the major part of them shall appoint a minister for Great Salkeld and Plumpton, and at discretion dismiss him for misbehaviour and misconduct." (This was the Presbyterian practice.—Dale's *Congregationalism*, p. 483.)

2. AN INDENTURE, DATED FEBRUARY 28TH, 1862.

This is evidently a deed on the terms of document No. 1, with new trustees in it.

3. A DEED, DATED MARCH 1ST, 1862.

This is the conveyance of Harvey Side to the trustees of deed No. 2, by Frederick Winder of Liverpool, for £100. Harvey Side is described as "formerly part of the commons and waste ground within the forest of Inglewood." It contains 1 acre 2 roods 23 perches.

4. HONOR OF PENRITH, DATED MAY 6TH, 1879.

Evidently referring to the land upon which the present place of worship stands.

5. A DEED, DATED 1879.

This document is a new trust deed, giving the power into the hands of the Presbyterian Church of England. It refers to the present place of worship, built in 1876, at a cost of about £500.

6. HONOR OF PENRITH, DATED JULY 6TH, 1891.

7. INDENTURE, DATED JUND 23RD, 1891.

This is a new deed for the conveyance of the old meeting-houses of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, together with the lands of Knott Dalt and Harvey Side, according to the terms of document No. 1.

With regard to the buildings there is not much information. The Plumpton meeting-house has always been closely associated with Great Salkeld, but there are no separate particulars of this cause. The meeting-house, which has the date of 1709 on the headstone, was transferred to the Wesleyans some years ago.

The original meeting-house at Great Salkeld is in the field called "The Croft," and is now used as a barn. The date of its erection cannot be given, but it was probably during the "meeting-house building era, 1690-1710" (Drysdale's *English Presbyterianism*, p. 441, f.). The present place of worship is in the village.

We are unable to discover the origin of the cause at Great Salkeld. It is highly probable that it originated in the ejection of Simon Atkinson, the vicar of Lazonby (Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*). This is probably the person who is described in the registers of the Cockermouth Independent Church on March 13th, 1670 (o.s.), as "pastor of the church about Kirkoswald," and the phrase is interesting. The Puritan movement in Cumberland appears first in the parish church (called by the Puritans "public meeting," and by George Fox "steeple-house"). Some of the vicars formed "churches" within their parishes, and as this was before the Act of Uniformity (1650-1661), there was nothing anomalous in such procedure. The best illustrations of this method were at Greystoke (Richard Gilpin), Bridekirk (George Benson), and particularly at Cockermouth (George Larkham), where the registers of the Independent Church fully explain the practice. Upon the operation of the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Nonconformists withdrew from the Established Church, and became pastors of the "churches." The Act of Parliament of 1670 pressed heavily upon the Cockermouth "church," and on May 8th it is recorded:—

The Church brake up their public manner of meeting together in regard of an evil Act of Parliament passed against meetings above five in a company. The same day the Pastor spake from Ezek. iii.,

24-27. In the evening it was agreed that the church should meet every first day of the week in parcels, sometimes at one place and sometimes at another, till this cloud should blow over.

We are not surprised therefore to read of "the church branching forth, or rather swarming," as it moves, a living but invisible organism among the villages in the neighbourhood of Cockermouth. This is the explanation of the phrase, "the church in and about Kirkoswald."

As early as 1653 the church at Cockermouth deputed three of its elders to go to "the church gathered in and about Kirkoswald at ye ordination of their pastour." Who he was we do not know, but he may have been Simon Atkinson, the vicar of Lazonby, although this event was nine years before his ejection. He would not require ordination from the Puritans if he had been previously ordained, and we know that they were careful in this matter, as the following incident proves. When the church at Cockermouth was formed, George Benson, M.A., the vicar of Bridekirk, was admitted (inducted) to the office of a teaching elder.

The reason why the said G: B: was not ordained was because he had been before ordained by the bishops, and the church was fearfull of iterating his ordination least they should have offended, though in their judgment were satisfied they might.

As George Benson was one of the three elders sent by the Cockermouth church to Kirkoswald, this delicate point could not have been overlooked.

The church at Kirkoswald, formed in 1653, probably embraced Parkhead, Huddlesceugh,* Great Salkeld, and possibly Plumpton. The records of Kirkoswald are lost. In 1824 they were in existence (*Home Missionary Magazine*, 1824, p. 134, footnote), when it was stated that they were begun during the ministry of Caleb Threlkeld, M.A., *circ.*

* Rev. George Nicholson of Huddlesceugh entered Cumberland shortly before 166a, and was silenced by the Bartholomew Act. He laboured in the district until 1697 (*Calamy*).

1702-1717. Mr. Threlkeld had carefully entered into the registers a copy of the original church covenant, which had presumably been drawn up in 1653. The church at Kirkoswald appears to be the second oldest Nonconforming congregation in the county, and is still active. From the formation, up to the end of the eighteenth century, it is possible to trace the names of nine or ten ministers. At the Indulgence of 1672, three licences were requested for Kirkoswald—(1) a general one for Giles Nicholson, (2) a Presbyterian one for William Jameson, (3) a licence (not specified) to Thomas Threlkeld. In Dr. Evans' list (1712-1729), the congregation is described as consisting of 235 hearers, with 20 county voters, and four gentlemen. It is probably from this influential source that the congregation of Great Salkeld was formed, although it maintained a separate ministry from the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier.

The following ministers are known to have been at Great Salkeld :—

1. RICHARD RIGBYE.

He came from Lancashire (Nelson MS.), and was probably connected with a leading family that played an important part in the history of that county, taking the Parliamentary side during the Civil War (*Eccleston Parish Register*). The date of his settlement at Great Salkeld is unknown. It was during his ministry that Archdeacon Nicolson, having been made Bishop of Carlisle, took "a final leave of sweet Salkeld," and removed to Rose Castle (these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., 194). On May 13th, 1714, Rigbye graduated M.D. at Edinburgh University (*Edinburgh Medical Graduates*, 1705-1865), so that he had probably left Salkeld before that date. He was minister of Broad Street, Reading, about 1715. The famous Salter's Hall Synod was in 1719 (Drysdale's *English Presbyterians*, p. 502). Rigbye took the side of the non-subscribers in that

controversy (*vide* James' *Legislation*, p. 705). He published two sermons, one of them being on Gunpowder Plot (Nelson MS.).

2. JAMES CROSSLAND.

Born in 1687. In early life he was minister of Carnforth, Lancashire, working with that meeting-house a meeting at the adjoining village of Tatham. The building in which Crossland preached at Carnforth is now a smithy. In 1718 he went to Great Salkeld, where he remained until 1733. During his ministry there he married Rachel Benson of Great Salkeld, the second sister of the Rev. George Benson, D.D. His congregation is described in Dr. Evan's list as consisting of 100 hearers, one being a "gentleman," the rest being "the meaner sort of yeomen and poor farmers." His next pastorate was Swalwell, near Newcastle, where he died in 1752 (articles on Swalwell congregation, 1906, and Great Salkeld congregation, 1907, in *The Monthly Messenger* of the English Presbyterian Church).

3. JAMES ALDERSON.

He was probably a native of Westmorland, and was educated at Dr. Rotheram's academy at Kendal. He ministered to the Great Salkeld congregation for a short time about the year 1735. He removed in 1737 to Lowestoft, where he died in 1760 (MS. in Williams' Library). His son, Rev. Robert Alderson, Octagon Chapel, Norwich, ultimately became Recorder of Norwich (Brown's *Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 281).

4. JOHN WHITESIDE.

He was born at Lancaster. His training was received at Dr. Rotheram's academy, where he was a fellow-student of James Alderson. He was at Great Salkeld

about 1739-1743, when he removed to Yarmouth as minister of "the Old Meeting." A secession had taken place from this meeting on doctrinal grounds. (A copy of the minutes of "the Old Meeting" are in the Williams' Library.) Whiteside went to Yarmouth as assistant to Mr. Milner in May, 1743, and was chosen pastor on Mr. Milner's death (Brown's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*). In 1772, Mr. Whiteside chose the Rev. J. M. Beynon of Knowsley, Lancashire, to be his assistant (*Manchester Socinian Controversy*, 1821). In 1784 Mr. Whiteside died at Yarmouth.

5. JOHN HELME, JUN.

He was the son of the Rev. John Helme of Penruddock (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., 165). A student of Dr. Rotheram's, he was minister at Great Salkeld *circ.* 1745-1749. His subsequent career has become confused with that of his father, but probably it was he who went into Lancashire, and was drowned in a flood, while crossing a brook near Bolton in 1760. Nightingale's work on Lancashire Nonconformity has several references to a John Helme, but may not have been aware that there were two persons of that name (Nelson MS.).

6. JAMES RITCHIE.

A native of Scotland. He attended the University of Glasgow nine sessions (Nelson MS.), and was called to Ravenstonedale in 1732 (Nightingale's Westmorland volume; the date is given as "about 1735" in *The History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale*, by the Rev. W. Nicholls, a copy of which is in the Jackson collection). In these times "the saints' bell" was rung at Ravenstonedale to call the Dissenters to sermon after the Nicene creed had been repeated, and this practice continued as late as 1777 (Burns and

Nicolson). Ritchie became involved in a lawsuit with the trustees, and appears to have left about 1737, when he removed to Alston Moor. While in that charge, he graduated M.D. at Glasgow University in 1740 (Addison's *Roll of Glasgow Graduates*). During his stay at Alston, the Red Wing estate was purchased (in 1749) for the Protestant Dissenters, (*Alston Church*, by the Rev. H. C. Hopton, 1904). Richie preached at Alston and in Weardale alternately, till about 1750. (The Nelson MS. states that Weardale was connected with Alston Moor.) His next pastorate was at Great Salkeld.

> That country being cold, and his health declining, he accepted a call from my father and the other members of the Great Salkeld congregation, where he preached, and at Plumpton alternately until 1753 (Nelson MS.).

He became minister of Mixenden, near Halifax, in 1753, (Miall's *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*), and died at Shaw Booth, Warley, Halifax, in October, 1763, aged 65. He is buried in the Old Presbyterian Chapel, Mixenden, where a monument, with an elaborate inscription in Latin, has been erected to his memory. On it he is described as a V.D.M. (Verbi Dei Minister) as well as an M.D. He appears to have been a man of considerable ability. In 1761 he published a work in London (in 8 vols.), entitled, *A Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices, being an Examination of Dr. Taylor's "Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement"* (Taylor's work was published in 1751, *vide* Gordon's *Heads of Unitarian History* and Turner's *Unitarian Lives*). In *The Monthly Review* for September, 1761 (a copy in Williams' Library), this work is referred to in kind, but cautious words. Ritchie's name is not mentioned in the review, and our impression is that his book is more advanced than that of Dr. Taylor.

The author treats Dr. Taylor's notions with great freedom, but the Doctor himself with great respect, and seems to have no other view than the discovery of truth.

Another work (2 vols. quarto, Warrington, 1761) was sent to the press before he died, but was issued by subscription for the benefit of his widow (Nelson MS.). The title was *The Piacular Sacrifices . . . . . and rationale of them, illustrated in two essays, with two Dissertions on the person of Jesus Christ.* [For further particulars, *vide The History of Mixenden,* by Rev. J. Preston (1823-1841).]

7. JAMES MCMILLAN.

From Scotland (Nelson MS.). Minister of Great Salkeld, 1754-1758; minister of Haltwhistle, 1759-1767 (*Records of Haltwhistle Presbyterian Church*). The remainder of his ministry was spent in Yorkshire.

8. THOMAS LOWTHION.

A native of the district, and a relative of the Rev. Samuel Lowthion. The father of Samuel Lowthion removed from Kirkoswald, and settled at Penruddock upon his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of John Noble of Penruddock, on June 21st, 1699 (Greystoke Registers). Samuel Lowthion became minister of Penrith Presbyterian Church, 1745-1752; and afterwards of Dr. Richard Gilpin's congregation in Newcastle, where he kept an academy. On August 14th, 1768, there was baptised "at Sauchel Gate, on the turnpike road to Carlisle, Peggy, the daughter of Thos Lowthion, blacksmith there, and Margaret, his wife" (Penrith Presbyterian Registers). These were probably the parents of Thomas Lowthion. He was educated at the academy of the Rev. Samuel Lowthion, and became minister of Great Salkeld, 1758-1763. He was called to Cockermouth in 1764, but as the result of the call a secession took place on

account of Lowthian's doctrinal opinions. The two meetings united upon his death in 1781 (Cockermouth Records).

9. TIMOTHY NELSON.

There is a gap in the record of the ministers from 1763 until the ministry of Mr. Nelson in 1801, and this was evidently the weak, uncertain, and unsatisfactory stage of the congregation's life. From the historical point of view, the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the critical period of Nonconformity throughout England, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Nelson, who could easily have supplied the facts, has left us without a clue.

Timothy Nelson was a native of Great Salkeld, and was born in 1737. His father, Thomas, had been married to Sarah Rotheram in 1732 (Parish Register). After graduating M.A. at Glasgow in 1758, he was licensed by the Northumberland Classis, and became minister of Penruddock for a short time (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., 166). His next pastorate was at Alston Moor, 1762-1800. About 1801 he removed to the joint pastorate of Great Salkeld and Plumpton. He died at Great Salkeld, and was buried there in 1830. He was a careful historian of local events, and a number of his MSS. are in the possession of his relatives at Great Salkeld. The Nelson MS. referred to in this article is the copy of a letter sent by him in 1821, in answer to a letter of inquiry from Joshua Wilson, London. A relative of Nelson's, described as a stubborn Dissenter, is mentioned in "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries" (these *Transactions*, N.S., i., p. 21).*

* The diary of Richard Wright, the Unitarian missionary, gives an interesting glimpse of Mr. Nelson in 1814, but the inference in Mr. Wright's *Life*, pub. 1824, is by comparison with Mr. Nelson's MSS. and actions at that period, quite unwarranted.

10. GEORGE CHAPMAN.

A native of Kirkcaldy, N.B. He entered the Associate (Burgher) Hall in 1819 (Mackelvie's *Annals*), and was ordained at Great Salkeld in 1833 by the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle. He died in 1881. From this date the congregation at Great Salkeld has been a preaching station, and has been supplied by probationers from the Presbyterian Church of England.

The ecclesiastical periods of the congregation (including Plumpton) may be traced by observing the source from which the ministers were drawn. The first two ministers were evidently of the earliest group of academy men, which, for religion and definiteness of conviction was the best group. (For articles on the Kendal academies by Rev. M. N. G. Gray, M.A., *vide The Monthly Messenger*, March, 1907.) The next three were from Rotheram's academy, which through the subsequent opinions of its students had its reputation shaken. Several of the ministers of Cumberland charges were afterwards suspected of heterodoxy, but not while they were in Cumberland.

It was the final developments of their students that gave the academies such notoriety. An examination of the famous "Manchester Socinian Controversy" (1821) shows that Lancashire continued to take their ministers from the academies, and to-day the county is dotted with Unitarian congregations; while Cumberland turned to the Church of Scotland for their supply, and there is only one Unitarian congregation in the county. The attitude of the Great Salkeld congregation is seen in the fact that two ministers were invited from Scotland, who were followed by two natives of the district. During the ministry of Mr. Nelson, the second of these, the congregation applied for admittance to the United Associated Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle in 1827 (Mackelvie's

Annals, p. 34). In the thirteenth year of Mr. Chapman's ministry, Great Salkeld was incorporated into the U.P. Church of Scotland, and when in 1876 the Presbyterian Church of England was strong enough to reconstitute herself, the charges of Great Salkeld and Plumpton returned to their English Presbyterian connection.

The interesting question of polity has been discussed in *The Monthly Messenger*, November, 1906—February, 1907, and the internal evidence is strongly in favour of a traditional Presbyterianism. For an examination of the complex relations between Presbyterians and Independents, *vide* Dale's *History of Congregationalism*, published 1907, where the Congregational position is thoroughly stated. Several eminent Nonconformists have been connected with the neighbourhood of Great Salkeld.

1. THE BENSON FAMILY.

Dr. George Benson's memoirs are attached to his *Life of Christ* (Jackson Library). Dr. Grosart's article on Benson, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is a summary of these memoirs. There are at least twelve separate sermons by Dr. Benson, in the Jackson Library, with a volume that probably contains duplicates of these sermons. There are several other works by Benson in that collection.

The Benson family were originally from London. John Benson left London towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and settled at Great Salkeld, "where the family made a considerable figure." He had thirteen sons, and from the eldest Lord Bingley was descended. The youngest son was George Benson, who took the side of Parliament in the Civil War.

Dr. George Benson was a well-known theologian in the eighteenth century (memoirs). The Benson family were influential, and widely dispersed. They appear at Great Salkeld, Penruddock (1646, *vide*

parish kist), Cockermouth (1653, George Benson, the ejected vicar of Bridekirk). They were probably connected with Bishop Nicolson (*vide* his "Diaries" in these *Transactions*). In Westmorland a branch appears at Kendal (*George Fox's Journal*). In Lancashire it is probably the same family that may be traced at Kellet, and that were until recently resident in Lancaster.

2. THE ROTHERAM FAMILY.

Dr. Caleb Rotheram and Rev. Caleb Rotheram. Rotheram Green, Great Salkeld, has recently been sold, but a number of family relics are in the possession of Mr. Francis Nicholson, F.Z.S., Windermere, including an unrecognised portrait of a gentleman, who may be Dr. Rotheram. For particulars of Dr. Rotheram's career, *vide Dictionary of National Biography* ; also "Kendal Registers" (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., 177). His funeral sermon by the Rev. James Daye of Lancaster is in the Jackson Library.

3. THE THRELKELD FAMILY.

For the origin of the Threlkeld family *vide* "Papers and Pedigrees," vol. ii., by W. Jackson (*Extra Series* of this Society, vol. vi.

Thomas Threlkeld licensed his house for preaching on October 28th, 1672. This was either at Kirkoswald or within the parish. He was probably the father of Caleb Threlkeld.

Rev. Caleb Threlkeld, born 1676 at Ketberg, in the parish of Kirkoswald, graduated M.A. at Glasgow University in 1698. He became Dissenting minister of Huddlesceugh, Kirkoswald. He took the M.D. degree at Edinburgh University on January 26th, 1713, so that he and the Rev. Richard Rigbye, the minister of Great Salkeld, would graduate together. In 1713 he removed to Dublin, and eventually gave

up preaching. In 1727 he published *Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum* (Jefferson's *Leath Ward*, p. 482). He was the uncle of Samuel Threlkeld.

Rev. Samuel Threlkeld, minister of Penrith Presbyterian Church, 1728-1744. He was at Halifax North-Gate End Chapel 1744-1767, when he died there. He was the father of the Rev. Thomas Threlkeld, and was connected by marriage with Wordsworth (Miall's *Congregationalism in Yorkshire.*)

Rev. Thomas Threlkeld, minister of Risley Presbyterian Church, 1762-1778. His next pastorate was Rochdale (1778-1806), where he died (Dr. Drysdale's sketch of Rochdale Presbyterianism). His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Thomas Barnes, D.D., Manchester. He had a remarkable memory (*Monthly Repository* for 1807, p. 160, quoted in Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity*). In the list of subscribers to Benson's *Life of Christ* (issued after his death in 1762), the names include those of the Rev. Joseph Threlkeld, Bladensburgh, Maryland, and Henry Threlkeld, Frederick County, Maryland.

ART. V.—*The Parish of Hayton.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Kendal, July 11th, 1907.

THE antiquary who attempts to investigate the history of a border parish three centuries ago finds little to reward his research. There are, as a rule, no parish registers of that period extant, and the manorial records, if any, are of such a bald nature that it requires considerable ingenuity and some power of imagination to weave them into a connected form. This dearth of material is not surprising when it is remembered how sparsely populated was the district in question; how little cultivated, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the villages; how its inhabitants lived from hand to mouth, and in continual apprehension that their cattle would be driven off the commons, their crops destroyed, and their homesteads burnt on a sudden foray of moss-troopers from the debateable land, or a more organised raid from the adjoining kingdom of Scotland. Here and there are documents in private hands which may afford instructive information, but their possessors frequently do not recognise and appreciate the value of their contents, and they remain, for practical purposes, a sealed book. Yet there exists a mass of State papers, relating principally to matters of public policy, but throwing incidentally gleams of light upon the obscurity of local history. I will proceed to cite several such papers, which give an insight into the internal economy of Hayton parish.

In the month of October, 1552, Lord Wharton, when deputy warden-general of the West Marches, drew up a series of regulations for the protection of that part of the border. The rivers afforded a natural line of defence, but

there were many points in their course which were easily fordable on the darkest night, and those points required to be carefully guarded by watchers, "with setters, searchers, and overseers, according to the ancient custom of the Marches." Hayton parish was bounded on the north by the rivers Irthing and Gelt, but its parishioners were immediately liable for the safety of the latter stream only.

From the foot of Irding to the foot of Gelt four several watches, and four men in every watch, Over Crosby, the Wall (Old Wall), Lyversdale, and Irdinton, to keep these watches nightly at most doubtful and needful places; the bailiffs and constables to appoint searchers for these watches. Overseer thereof, Thomas Blennerhasset, the King's highnesses servant.

The foot of Gelt unto Castlecarrick, three several watches and four men in every watch; to be watched by Fenton and Hayton, and the searchers nightly to be appointed by the land serjeant, the bailiffs, and constables there.

Near the western boundary of Hayton parish flowed the broad river Eden, and there certain parishioners, who were tenants of the small lordship known as Little Corby, were to assist the men of Brigend to watch Warwick Bridge and the ford beneath the bridge, and two searchers were to be appointed every night by the bailiffs and constables to set and search the same watch.

All these watches were to be posted from October 1st to March 16th in every year, and to continue from "day-going until the day be light," when they were relieved by a day watch if occasion so required.

Lord Wharton's regulations were based upon ancient custom, and made in pursuance of an agreement between the wardens and others, concluded at Newcastle in the previous month (September 12th and 13th, 6 Edward VI.), which provided *inter alia* that every man was bound on pain of death to rise and follow the fray upon blowing of horn, shout, or outcry, and no English subject was even to speak to a Scotchman without the licence of the

deputy warden-general.* No wonder the Cumbrians are so taciturn!

The obligation to furnish twelve men week in and week out for night duty, to say nothing of day watchmen and town watchmen, must have pressed heavily on a small community like that of Hayton, and (although it applied only to the dead season of the year) must have interfered somewhat with agriculture; but it must be remembered that without these precautions all attempts at land cultivation were labour lost. And so every night the little contingent of Hayton men turned out with their spears, and remained crouched on the river bank in black darkness or pouring rain, little pleased with their thankless task, and sometimes, it may be, in league with their kinsmen from the debateable land whom they were sworn to keep at bay.

One winter's morning in Queen Elizabeth's reign a general muster was called of all the able-bodied tenants in the Eskdale ward of the county, and among them came the men of Hayton. Their names have a familiar sound, and one can almost fancy he sees them as they arrive—some on horseback, others on foot—fall into line, and answer to their names as they are called by the bailiff, who holds in his hand the muster roll and reads, or makes believe to read it, though he knows his men as a shepherd does his sheep. They form a motley array, but they are the same who followed Leonard Dacre when he encountered the royal troops at Gelt Bridge on the confines of Hayton parish, and of whom Lord Hunsdon wrote to the Queen:—"They gave the proudest charge upon my shot that ever I saw." †

Here is the muster roll. It is dated February 9th, 1581:—

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* Bishop Nicolson's *Leges Marchiarum*, p. 143 *et seq.* (of copy in Lincoln's Inn Library).

† *State Papers, Dom. Add. Eliz.*, 1570, vol. xvii.

Eshdall warde.—Musters their taken by George Salkelde, Thomas Carleton, and Richard Warwicke equiers, the ix^th^ day of Februrarie, anno regni Elizabeth regine xxiij^mo^, wherein is sett downe everie man is furnyshede at his daye.*

Haton Parishinge.—Thomas Knight balif,† Richard Jackson, William Jackson, Robert Dixson, Thomas Jackson, John Raylton, Robert Moises, John Dixson, James Tinlinge, John Newton, John Browne, jacks, steel caps, and spears.

Lancelote Moises, Henrie Railton, Henrie Railton elder, Thomas Noble, Robert Moises, Thomas Grame, Richard Elwould, Thomas Moises, steel coats,‡ caps, and spears.

Robert Browne, John Westgarthe, John Gille, Henrie Hudles, Richard Simson, Christofer Moises, John Raylton, John Railton elder, Thomas Gille, Thomas Grame younger, Jefferye Elwoulde, Thomas Halle, Barnarde Moises, caps and spears.

Christofer Dixson, William Dixson, spears.

John Robinson, James Elwould, caps and bows.

John Watson, Thomas Myses, spears.

Richard Stableton, cap and spear.

Michaell Moyses, William Wilson, lances.

Christofer Moyses, spear.

Philip Moyses, Richard Moises, George Moyses, John Ellison, Thomas Raylton, William Gill, Robert Moises, Christofer Knighte, lances.

John Knight, cap and lance.

James Milbourne, spear.

Thomas Milbourne, Richard Maughan, John Hall elder, John Hall younger, Michaell Knight, Robert Maxwell, John Milbourne, John Moises, George Moises, Robert Moises, Sander Dowson, Thomas Noble, lances.

Richard Grame, spear and cap.

John Robleye younger, John Harknes, Anthoney Grame, John Robley, Thomas Dowson, Edward Hall, John Hall, lances.

Seventy-two men all told, a very good muster considering that they are drawn only from the Hayton and Fenton townships of the parish. It is remarkable that no less than sixteen of the number bear the name of Moyses, the same perhaps that appears as Moses a century later; but

* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 39.

† For several generations a member of the same family was bailiff of Hayton.

‡ The steel coat was probably heavier armour than the jack.

so rapidly did this surname die out that natural causes hardly account for its disappearance. Possibly the plague may have helped to sweep away some of the old families of statesmen.

The men of Talkin township number only nineteen, and ten of them are Milbournes or Milburns. They are formed up in a separate squad with the inhabitants of "Brampton Parishinge," because Talkin, though subsequently included in Hayton, is at the period in question deemed to form part of Brampton parish. A few other Hayton men who reside at Little Corby are grouped with the inhabitants of "Mikle Corbye and the Bridgend" (Great Corby and Warwick Bridge), because they are tenants of George Salkeld of Corby Castle.*

But where are the bowmen? Eleven years ago Leonard Dacre's armed men consisted for the most part of archers,† but they had been cut to pieces by the royal cavalry in the unfortunate encounter at Gelt Bridge, where they lost many hundreds of men and also the Dacre standard, emblazoned with a red bull. Now Hayton can only furnish two marksmen, John Robinson and James Elwould; and Talkin likewise two, William Hevesyde and Ritchie Milborne. Skill in the use of the bow is dying out, not because firearms are coming into fashion, for the whole muster can only produce a single gun.

Two years later (April 25th, 1583) Lord Scrope, the lord warden, called a muster of light horsemen, mounted on small horses and armed with jacks, steel caps, swords, and spears.‡ The land serjeant reported that though Gilsland, here expressly stated to belong to "my lord

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* The townships of Great Corby and Warwick Bridge in Wetheral parish are no longer a part of Eskdale Ward, having been transferred to Cumberland Ward in 1833 (Whellan's *History of Cumberland*, p. 625). Little Corby was separated from the old parish of Hayton, and included in the new ecclesiastical district of Holme Eden, by order in Council dated 18th October, 1845 (*Ibid*, p. 196).

† *State Papers, Dom. Add. Elizabeth*, 1570, vol. xvii.

‡ Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 98.

William Hawarde," had in the late Lord William Dacre's time been liable to furnish one hundred such horsemen, it could then only produce forty—the deficiency being caused by Leonard Dacre's rebellion, and the continual spoils of the Liddelsdale Scotchmen; but Lord Scrope advised that the tenants should enter into bonds, returnable to the Exchequer, that they would forthwith supply the full complement, because they had been very honourably dealt with by their new landlord, Lord William Howard,* and such bonds were accordingly taken.

That formed the nucleus of the local cavalry force, and was the minimum required to be mobilised by Gilsland, though it is probable that on emergency a larger body of horsemen would voluntarily offer themselves for service. What, by the way, does the term "Gilsland" convey to the mind of the modern reader?—a wayside station on the North-Eastern Railway, and a spa famous for its sulphur spring and much frequented by visitors from Newcastle. That particular locality is only so named because it is the first inhabited village as one enters the barony from the east. In Henry I.'s reign, the name Gilsland embraced all the wild track of moorland which had been claimed by the chieftain Gilles, son of Beuth of Buethcastle,† and later the wide domain (including Hayton) of which the noble families of de Vaux, de Multon, Dacre, and Howard were successively overlords. ‡

In connection with the subject of local surnames, I should like to call attention to a letter written in 1583 by Thomas Musgrave§ to Lord Burghley, high treasurer during Queen Elizabeth's reign,‖ for it tends to show that

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* Lord William was not yet come of age, having been born December 19th, 1563.

† See these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 243.

‡ Its extent varied from time to time. A quaint account of its boundary is given by Nicolson and Burn in their history of the county, but the authors do not state its date and source. Compare the description given by the land serjeant in 1597 (see page 63).

§ Probably Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle.

‖ Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 120.

many of the names now widely diffused throughout the county were then for the most part borne by individuals who clung together in clans, and occupied distinct settlements dotted along the streams which intersected the bleak border lands. The account which it gives us is so interesting that I will venture to quote a short passage from it, though I know that its quaint diction and phonetic spelling is abhorrent to the educated reader, and gall and wormwood to the intelligent printer :—

Maye it please therefore your lordship to understand that the ryver called Lyddall is a fayre ryver, and hath her course downe Lyddisdall, soe as the dale hath the name of the ryver. The ryver is all Scottishe untill it come to Kyrsopp foote, planted with Ellotes untill it come neare Wheatoughe towre, then the Armestronges inhabit it on bothe sydes untill it come to Kyrsopp foote, where it takes the dyvysion of the realmes from Kyrsopp. Then the Armestronges have the one syde and the English Fosters the other syde, so it desendes by the Harlowe on the one syde and the Haythawyt on the other, and runeth into the ryver called Eske. Kyrsopp is a smale becke, and desendes from the wast grounde called Kyrsope heade. It devydes the realmes from the meare dyke untill it meat with Lyddall, and is from the head unto the foote without habitacion, and at the foote of it is the *fortes*.

Black Leven water is a littell brooke, and so is Whyt Leven* the lyke, and are not in anie place a myle and a halfe dystant one from an other, and are inhabyted with the Nixons untill it come to a place called the Black dobs, and then the Rutligis† dwell on bothe the sydes of it untill it come to a place called the Lukkins of Leven. Then it desendes Sowpert,‡ wheare the Taylors have it. Then it desendes the boundes of Sopert, and is inhabyted with Graymes called the Graymes of Leven, and runneth into the ryver of Eske at Gorthe Story's howse, called the Lard. Eske is a fayre ryver, and cometh throughe Esdall, and is Scottishe, inhabyted with Battesons

* The Black and White Line. The township which lies between them is still called "Nixon's."

† The Routledges are described in the same document as being "every man's prey." Some others of the same clan lived close by, "at a place called the Bale," which I take to mean Bailey, one of the four townships of Bewcastle parish. It is traversed by the Bailey Water, which has a tributary known as "Routledge Burn."

‡ Solport is a township forming part of Stapleton parish, and contains an interesting border stronghold called Shank Castle.

of Esdele, untill it come neare a place called the Langhalme Castill, and meateth with the water called Use (which waters and dales are bothe my Lorde Maxwell's) untill it come to Canonby Kyrke, and then the Armestronges and Scottishe Graymes have it, untill it meete the ryver of Lydall at the Mote Skore, where Fargus Grayme his howse standes. Then it taketh the devysyon of the realmes untill it come to a place called Morton rigge, where Will of Kinmont* dwelleth. Then there is a mere dyke that goeth to a ryver called Sarke. Then is Eske Englishe on bothe sydes, and Sarke ryver devydes, and there are Graymes on both sydes, the one English, the other Scottishe, untill it come to Gretnay, where it meteth Eske, and both run to Bownus and soe take the sea.

"Hethersgill in Solport"† was the head-quarters of the Hethertons or Hetheringtons, who inhabited the district almost to Carlisle, and the hamlet no doubt derives its name from the family. When the Liddelsdale Scotchmen raided the English border villages they were frequently aided and abetted by the above-named clans of "riders," who were English or Scotch just as served their purpose, and were in the habit of penetrating ten or twelve miles into the county, and being back in their homes before daylight. They were, in fact, a terror to North Cumberland. The Armstrongs of Liddelsdale are described as "for ever riding," and the Grahams of Esk and Leven could raise five hundred men.‡

The reference to forts at Kershope foot in the above account is explained elsewhere :—

If the soldiers had not been at Kershope foot, the Scotsmen would there have builded their shiels (huts) this last summer, and come further into Gilsland to its desolation.§

The Esk at that period flowed into the sea at Bowness, so that many miles of low-lying marsh have been eaten

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* The notorious William Armstrong, *alias* "Kinmont Willie."

† Hethersgill is a township of Kirklinton parish.

‡ Bain's *Border Papers*, 1592, vol. i., pp. 391, 394.

§ Lord Scrope to Lord Walsingham, October 30th, 1583 (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., No. 182).

away in the interval by the action of the Solway tides. A deep water channel still extends from Gretna to Bowness, as will be seen on reference to the Ordnance Survey.

I am afraid I have digressed from my immediate subject, but I have found it necessary in order to give an idea of what life at Hayton was in the olden time.

From this time forward strenuous and systematic steps were taken by the Government to break up these clans of moss-troopers—Armstrongs, Fosters, Grahams, Hetheringtons, Nixons, Routledges, and Taylors—who had long held undisturbed possession of the borders, and it was at this period, if I mistake not, that their members began to withdraw into Cumberland and to settle down quietly as tenants of the adjacent manors, and their names have quite supplanted those of many old families.

Thomas Carleton of Carleton was land serjeant in 1597, and has left the following interesting account of the surrounding district:—*

In the barony of Gilsland there be fifteen several manors and fifteen several bailiffs, all under the command of the land serjeant of Gilsland, as principal officer and marshall-steward, viz.:—

1. Croglyn—Robert Grayme.
2. Cumrew—John Dixson.
3. Castelcarrock—Stephen Hodson.
4. Aynstaplyth (Ainstable)—. . . . . .
5. Cumerhotton (Cumwhitton)—Frauncis Skaffe.
6. Hayton—Anthonie Knight.
7. Brampton—Lancellott Carleton.
8. Talkyn—William Milborne.
9. Farleham—George Bell.
10. Neder Denton—Anthonie Carleton.
11. Over Denton—Edward Tweddall.
12. Irdington—Christopher Blennerhasset.
13. Walton Wood—William Bell.
14. Treddermayne (Triermain)—Clementt Hetherington.
15. Askerton—Richard Graymne of Brakenhill.

* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii., p. 445.

Besides many others, which have been at the command of the land serjeant of Gilsland, and now taken from the obedience by the landlords, as Lanercost, Corkbye (Corby), and divers others. There should be 500 men in these to serve her majesty, but there are not fifteen able horsemen at this day. Within this four years past, the barony of Gilsland was equal to the best part of the borders in wealth and quietness and sense. I dare be bold to speak it, that £10,000 will not well and sufficiently repair the decay and losses of the said country, her majesty's tenants and subjects, by fire, sword, spoil, and oppression of the Scot and enemy, beside the great dearth and famine, wherewith the country hath been punished extremely this three hard years by past, and now, last of all, the plague of sickness lately fallen amongst them. In the same barony there be fifteen several parishes and parish churches. The circuit of the whole barony is about four score miles.

On September 5th, 1598, John Musgrave, the newly appointed land serjeant,* attempted to muster the tenants of the barony at Brampton, but his voice was that of one crying in the wilderness, and very few answered his summons. His comments reveal a most extraordinary state of things. The barony was nominally in the hands of the Crown, but in fact it was completely dominated by the Scotch, and anarchy prevailed. The whole district had been devastated by fire and sword. The men of Hayton were not called up "for the infection"—because the plague, which had for years been raging in Northumberland and the south of Scotland, had now attacked the parish, and "the Scots' spoils there were £600 and above." Cumwhitton and Cumrew were "all spoiled by the Scots." Castlecarrock was "likewise spoiled, and none appeared." Talkin was "spoiled," and Laversdale was "spoiled and burned by the Scots, and none appeared." At Askerton all the tenants were "heryed and gone." Against the names of other localities is placed a note "never one horse" or "all wayste," and in the whole muster there were not five horses worth £5 apiece. The land serjeant

* One of the Musgraves of Edenhall.

proceeds to relate how the Carletons had contrived to obtain possession of all the Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland, and had placed divers Scotch in them. For instance, Thomas Carleton had Askerton and Triermain Castles and Farlam Hall, with their respective demesne lands; while Lancelot Carleton held Naworth Castle, Brampton Foot Hall, Brampton and Brigwood Parks, the Tarn House, and Netherton house and mill, beside divers parcels of poor men's ground which he had laid to them. The report furnishes a graphic picture of the abject state of misery to which the inhabitants of this district had been reduced by war and pestilence.* It also appears to explain the import of a somewhat earlier paper relating to Hayton parish. The latter is dated June 4th, 1596, and is entitled "Note of lands in the baronies of Burgh and Gilsland, late the possessions of Leonard Dacre attainted, whereof the Graimes are tenants":—†

BARONIA DE GILLESLAND. MANOR OF HAYTON.

Edward Graime holds at the lord's will after the custom there 4 acres arable and 2 of waste paying 9^s 3^d.
Richard Graime similiter 2 acr. arable and meadow paying 3^s 5^d.
Anthony Graime similiter 2 acr. arable paying 2^s 5^d.
Edrus Graime similiter 1 acr. arable and waste paying 8^d.

MANOR OF FENTON. ‡

Thomas Graime similiter 2½ acr. paying 4^s 1^d.

And so on with respect to the other manors.

The said tenants hold the several lands and tenements aforesaid by a customary estate, which they call and claim to be "tenant-right."

It is endorsed by Lord Burghley—"Greams the Queens tenantes."

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* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii., p. 557.

† *Ibidem*, vol. ii., p. 133.

‡ An insignificant manor probably co-extensive with the township of the same name, for the ancient township frequently developed into a mediæval manor. It is not mentioned by Thomas Carleton in the foregoing list, but from the inquisition of the 31st Elizabeth it appears that the lord's rents amounted to £3 5s. 3d., and the land serjeant's fee to 1s. It probably became merged in the manor of Hayton.

Now who were these Grahams, and why was it necessary to compile a list of their names and holdings? They are not the old Grahams of Hayton, though some of them bear the same names as those who attended the muster of tenants held fifteen years previously. They are new comers, and there can be little doubt that they are the "divers Scotch" of whom John Musgrave complained.

The Grahams had grown to be the most arrogant and aggressive of all the border clans, as appears from the following account of their "misdemeanors." It resembles a page of romance.*

They had attempted to murder John Musgrave, the land serjeant, at Brampton, a market town and the safest place there, by discharging above thirty "daggest and gunnes" at him and his company, and had tried to burn him in his house. While the assizes were being held at Carlisle, they had broken into the gaol and rescued one of their number—John Grayme, *alias* "Jock of the Pear-tree." They had kidnapped the son of Mr. Salkeld of Corby Castle, a boy of eight, and so obtained the release of Watte Grayme, a member of their clan. They had burned down Hutchin Hetherington's house, and when he came out they had cut him in pieces. They levied blackmail. They threatened and assaulted all followers of "hue and cry," and murdered those who gave evidence against them. Even the sheriff could not serve process among them. They defied the lord warden of the Marches to his face, and told him that he had nothing to do with them. "The robbery of Hayton and other neighbouring villages was done or procured by their clan as guides to the Scots," and more than sixty Grahams had been outlawed for murder and other offences, as the records of the Sessions proved.

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* Bain's *Border Papers*, September 15th, 1600, vol. ii., p. 686.

† The dag was a pistol used, like the dagger, at close quarters (Johnson's Dictionary).

The account proceeds as follows:—

They daily draw nearer into the country, making the Queen's subjects weary of life, by night spoils. Thereby men of good service as the Storys,* Taylors, and many more are banished, and Scots and other bad people are placed as tenants, and share the spoils of the country. They are beginning with the Queen's Gilsland tenants, as appears by the decay of her revenues there.

The Grahams were cordially detested by Lord Scrope, who complained to the Privy Council of "their awfulness," and advised severe and sharp handling "to those caterpillars."† They were hand in glove with the Carletons, and through their assistance had been seeking to obtain a footing in the barony of Gilsland by becoming tenants of small holdings there, and so, in order to mark them down, the above quoted list of June 4th, 1596, was made, and at the same time a very complete pedigree‡ was compiled showing how they were all (contrary to the generally accepted account) descended from a certain William Grame, *alias* "Longe Will," who was banished from Scotland about eighty years previously, and had settled with his eight sons on the banks of the river Esk, where the Storys had formerly dwelt. The Grahams who inhabited the banks of the Leven and Sark were of a different and probably older local stock, but in course of time had so intermarried with those of the Esk as to be indistinguishable from them.

But all this time what has become of Lord William Howard, who, by virtue of his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Dacre, was undoubtedly the rightful owner of Gilsland? The barony had originally been forfeited to the Crown upon the attainder of Leonard Dacre (that lady's uncle) for high treason, and Queen Elizabeth had never from that day forward allowed Lord William

* For an account of how the Grahams of the Esk first became possessed of the Story's lands there, see Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 124.

† July 31st, 1596, Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii.

‡ "The Catalog of the Greames," 1596, *Ibid*, vol. ii., appendix.

Howard to take actual possession of the land, but at last she reluctantly allowed him to do so on his paying the exorbitant fine of £10,000. That was in 1601, so that it was not until the very close of the Queen's reign that Lord William came to reside at Naworth, "a fair castle in very great decay," * and became *de facto* lord of the manor of Hayton.

There ensued a controversy between the lord and tenants of the manor, which I hope is not too technical for the general reader to follow.

The statesmen of Hayton, like those of other border manors, had always held their lands on condition of performing military service against the Scots; but when the two kingdoms were united, King James I. conceived a design of raising money by seizing upon all customary freehold property in the crown manors of Cumberland on the pretext that military service was no longer necessary, and consequently the estates of tenants, formerly liable to it, had come to an end.

So in order to obtain the chestnuts (and very hot chestnuts they were!), he made a catspaw of the lords of manors where "tenant right" was claimed, and ordered them by proclamation to resume possession of all customary freehold land, and to regrant the same on lease at an improved rent. In 1610 the customary freeholders of Hayton and the other manors were required to sign the following petition to Lord William Howard:—

May it please your honour, we whose names are under written are content freely to yield and give over all challenge of tenant right, beseeching your honour to be so good as to let us have our tenements by lease for such number of years as our heirs shall have no cause to say that we are unnatural parents. And, in so doing, we are content that your honour shall enhance our rents at your honour's pleasure, according to equity and the goodness of our said tenements.

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* *Inquisition 31 Elizabeth.*

This was certainly an illegal proceeding. It must, however, be observed that Lord William Howard was not influenced by any motive of private greed, but was merely acting in obedience to the royal command. Many statesmen of the barony of Gilsland at once acquiesced in this arrangement, but others stood out, and in the months of March, April, and May, 1611 (9 James I.), assembled to the number of two hundred, "most of them weaponed," at Gelt Bridge, being "a place where their ancestors had in times past fought a battle against the late Queen's forces on the part of Leonard Dacre, thereby the rather to invite and pursuade them, by the memory thereof, to stand upon their pretended custom of tenant right." Here they held a series of indignation meetings in an open field, the chief instigators being two persons named Thomas Salkeld and John Dacre, who were not tenants, but representatives of old ruling families. Lord William Howard consequently exhibited a complaint in the Star Chamber, stating that he had purchased the barony of Gilsland from the late Queen Elizabeth, and that his tenants claimed customary estates of tenant right for doing service on the borders (which claim had, by several decrees in chancery, been adjudged void), and that most of his tenants were willing to take new estates from the complainant, who offered them on reasonable conditions. He then proceeded to describe the meetings at Gelt Bridge alluded to above. Whereupon the Court of Star Chamber ordered Salkeld and Dacre to be committed to prison at the Fleet, and to pay a fine of £100 apiece.*

The explanation of this very severe sentence is that the meetings at Gelt Bridge were not isolated examples of insubordination, for many similar assemblies had been held in other parts of the border.

But eventually the tenants won the day, for the whole matter was referred to the opinion of three judges, and

* Decree of the Star Chamber, dated April 24th, 14 James I. (1616).

they finally decided that the estates of the tenants were estates of inheritance descendible from ancestor to heir, and so the statesmen of Hayton received back their lands to hold to them and their heirs for ever, according to the custom of the manor.*

A list of "disordered persons," made at Carlisle on April 30th, 1618, by commission under the Great Seal,† mentions two inhabitants of the parish :—

Anthony Knight, late of Hayton, outlawed of murder, banished into Ireland, and after returned by what warrant we know not. He is a vagrant person, and hath no means to live but wandering in the country. Randall Milburne, of the How in Hayton, outlawed of murder, banished into Ireland, and after returned by what warrant we know not. He liveth in a quiet fashion with his neighbours, and no fault found with him, nor any way suspected now to be of bad behaviour.

Among those who received capital punishment were John Dixson of Hayton (executed) and John Milburn of Hillhouse (executed 1618 at Carlisle).‡ Perhaps they were no worse than many of their neighbours, but they were unfortunate enough to be caught in the toils of "Belted Will's" net.

Next come certain extracts from Lord William Howard's Household books and other documents printed by the Surtees Society—an interesting volume, with a good index, but for the present purpose disappointing. The ancient rents are collected by the bailiff, Christopher Knight, and accounted for in a lump sum, so that the names of the Hayton statesmen and their places of residence are not disclosed. But Lord William's private demesne land was leased to farmers, and there are a few early references to local homesteads. For example :—

HAYTON.—Received of Leonard Mattyson, for one year's rent of a tenement lying at Hedsnook, due at Martinmas 1621, forty shillings.

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* Elton, *Custom and Tenant Right*, p. 33-39.

† *State Papers, Dom. James I.*, xcviii., 601.

‡ From a list preserved at Castle Howard, Yorkshire.

TALKIN.—Nov. 10th. Received of Thomas Milburn, Andrew Hodgson, and Henry Hodgson, farmers of Netherton, for one half year's rent thereof due at Martinmas 1621. £10.
July 7th. Received of Thomas Vasye, for one year's rent of Hill House, due at our Ladye day last 1622, the sum of £3 15s.

HAYTON AND FENTON.—Received of John Knight, for the half year's rent of the Stone House and one other tenement there, due at Martinmas 1633. £4.

My object has been to demonstrate how it is possible to elucidate the history of Hayton during the period which immediately precedes the commencement of the parish register by having recourse to documents which relate to the district generally, for the history of Hayton is intimately connected with that of the other manors comprised in the great barony of Gilsland. I have thrashed a sheaf of musty papers, and when the chaff has been winnowed there remains a residuum of grain which inspires little hope of a plenteous harvest. But these grains are the seed from which, with a little attention, a fresh crop of knowledge may some day spring.

ART. VI.—*On a Bronze Tripod Vessel, found near Alston.* By EDWIN JACKSON.

Read at Kendal, July 11th, 1907.

A FARMER digging turf to repair a fence in September, 1906, unearthed the bronze vessel of which a photograph by Mr. C. Varty Smith is given opposite. It lay in an inverted position some eighteen inches below the surface of the ground, and was embedded in charcoal. Unfortunately the greater portion of the handle had been broken off, but was found lying beside it. The site of the find is not far from Castlenook Farm and near a well, known as the Roman Well, on the Maiden Way, a short distance from Alston.

This interesting utensil is a fine and rare example of the mediæval skillet, dating, in the opinion of Mr. C. H. Read of the British Museum and Dr. Joseph Anderson of the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, from the thirteenth century, and exhibiting some quite distinctive characteristics. It is considerably heavier in proportion to its size than any other with which I have been able to compare it. It is made of a kind of bronze known to antiquaries as latten, and has an ornamented band or ribbon round the body at its widest part, and a triangular lip or spout for pouring out the contents. Experts say that this scroll-work band displaying a dragon with protruding tongue barbed at the end, and with a long foliated tail, determines it as of thirteenth century design and make. In many of the illuminated manuscripts of that time this device is a noticeable and favourite design of the scribe, but it is rare on metal work of this kind, therefore we may safely assume that this vessel was made either for some person of high rank or for some particular purpose.

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY SKILLET FOUND AT ALSTON.

Photo. by C. Varty Smith.

TO FACE P. 72.

UNIV. OF MICH.

Skillets were, of course, put to all kinds of domestic uses, but were more frequently used for heating water or other liquids, and it may well have been that this one was made for the use of my lady in her own apartment to obviate the necessity of her having recourse to the kitchen and servants on every occasion when she required hot water or wine.

Having regard to its weight and thickness a further use has been suggested. In these *Transactions* (o.s., vol. viii., p. 23), the late Chancellor Ferguson refers to the sum of 100s. paid A.D. 1130, temp. Henry I., for rent of a silver mine at Alston, and it has been thought that this vessel may have been used for roasting and assaying samples of the richer ore from what would be a royal mine. Inside the rim at the top there is a slight ledge which might have supported a moveable cover or lid. This, taken in conjunction with the lip or spout, rather goes to support the suggestion that it was made for use as a caldron or boiler.

Mr. Joseph Cowper of Penrith, himself a chemist, to whom the exhibit belongs, has drawn my attention to certain directions in Culpepper's *Herbal* for making syrups, ointments, &c., in which the use of a bronze or pewter pot with a cover, and the aid of astrology, are considered to be necessary. Whether this vessel has ever been in use as an apothecary's gallipot it is impossible to determine, but it may well have been used for such a purpose.

Of the skillets with which this one has been compared in London, Edinburgh, and Carlisle, the nearest to it in point of size and weight is at Tullie House, where, in the Morton collection, is one rather larger, but lighter and without ornamentation and the lip, though with the curious handle and with ring markings on its upper surface such as this one has. All the others that I have seen are larger, proportionally lighter, and generally without the spout, but usually with a handle of the same character and with the ring markings on the upper surface.

I am informed by an Alston correspondent that some years ago another skillet was found near Alston, and it was for some time in the possession of the Alston Literary Society, but, like the Melmerby coffin chalice, eventually it disappeared. Unfortunately there is no record at Tullie House of the discovery of the Morton skillet.

Their respective weights and dimensions are :—

	Alston Skillet.		Morton Skillet.	
Height.	in.	in.	in.	in.
Body	4⅜	6¼	4 ...	7
Legs	1⅞		3 ...	
Diameter.				
Top		3¼	...	4 5/16
Circumference.				
Widest part ...		13¼	...	15½
Length of handle ...		6½	...	5½
Weight		oz. 3.10	...	oz. 3.8

10m
10m
10m
SOUTHERN
WING
5

ART. VII.—*Maulds Meaburn Hall.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Maulds Meaburn, July 11th, 1907.

KING'S Meaburn and Maud's Manor were anciently one manor, and continued undivided until the time of Sir Hugh de Morville, lord of Kirkoswald, who appears to have given this portion of the manor to his sister, or daughter, Maud. After the forfeiture of Sir Hugh, for assisting with three others in the assassination of Thomas à Becket, the other portion of the manor, which he had retained, was escheated to the Crown, and hence took the name of King's Meaburn. Maud married William de Vipont,* whom she survived; and it is said that in the time of the Countess of Pembroke "there were ruins of her house still to be seen," consisting of "foundations and cellars."

Their great grandson, Robert de Vipont, granted a great portion of Maud's possessions to the Hospital of St. Leonard in York, and in the year 1242 gave the manor of Maud's Meaburn to John le Fraunceis, son of Hugo, to hold to him and his heirs, of the said Robert, by the payment of one pound of cummin yearly for all services (see *Coram Rege Rolls*, 27 Henry III., m. 21; *Abbrev. Placit.*, p. 120 a).

There are several records of this family at Meaburn, the last that I can find being the inquisition after the death of Robert de Clifford in 8 Edward II. (1314). This inquisition finds that Richard le Fraunceis held of the

* The name Vipont, Vipond, or Vipound in English, de Veteri Ponte in Latin, and Vieuxpont and Vezpont in French, belongs to a family supposed to have had its origin in the arrondissement of Lisieux (Ferguson's *History of Westmorland*, p. 97).

said Robert, on the day on which he died, the manor of Meaburn Maud and Whale, by homage and fealty and the cornage of 33s., and that the wardship thereof, when it should happen, was worth 40s.

The male issue seems to have failed in the early part of the fourteenth century, and the manor to have passed by marriage to the Vernon family, for we find that in the 15 Edward III. (1314) one Isabella de Vernon held Meaburn, and her descendants may be traced as holding the same until the reign of Philip and Mary (1553-1558). Whether or not they had their residence upon this site, or indeed laid the foundations of this manor house, it is impossible for me to say.

The oldest dated stone is inserted over the garden entrance door, giving the year 1610, and it is said to have been erected by Sir Christopher Lowther soon after he succeeded to the property in 1602 or 1607. It would seem that in the year 1614 the manor, which had become greatly reduced by the various grants to religious houses, was settled upon John Lowther, Esq., of Lowther, and Elianor his wife. The hall then became the residence of this junior branch, and continued so for a period of one hundred and forty years, unto the fourth generation, when Sir James, *alias* Jemmy, succeeded to the main Lowther estates upon the death without issue of Henry, Viscount Lonsdale, in the year 1750; as also to the Whitehaven estates upon the death of Sir William Lowther in 1756.

On studying the plan and elevations of this interesting building it will be clearly seen that the oldest portion is the three storied block to the north of the front door, a block which has all the appearance of having once stood alone, built perhaps in imitation of the pele towers. We notice first a double-splayed plinth resting direct upon the foundations; the masonry above is of good stones, square-coursed and jointed; there is no attempt at any offset or stringcourse; and, lastly, there are flat square buttresses on either side of the southern gable. (Plate I.)

PLATE I.—MAULD'S MEABURN HALL.
shewing central block.

Photo. by J. F. Curwen.

TO FACE P. 76.

The living room, with an internal measurement of 23 by 20 feet, is entered by a Tudor arched doorway at the back or north-west corner; upon the front or eastern face there is a narrow loophole widely splayed within, and in the north-east angle there is a circular newel staircase leading up to the apartments above.

The solar, on the first floor, is a fine apartment, lighted by Tudor windows, one of three lights and one of two lights, square headed, with heavy mullions and transomes beneath labels. The walls are wainscotted with small panels in oak to the ceiling. The iron hinges on the doors and the oak boards of the flooring are worthy of particular notice. The south-western corner of the room is partitioned off with wainscot, and was perhaps used as a small oratory. The third story, which is lighted by a dormer window, has that curious kind of Italian floor which we noticed last year at Greenthwaite Hall; instead of the usual boards, there is a kind of cement plaster laid on a bed of laths. Truly a very sensible material, in those days, for servants' quarters.

The present hall, which adjoins the southern face of this block, stands upon the site of an earlier hall, which, if not coeval, must have been built soon after. Fortunately there is at the back a small portion of the wall still standing some five feet high, showing the same kind of square coursed masonry. On the front face, at the south-east corner, there still remain about ten lineal feet of the double-splayed plinth, again resting directly upon the foundation stones; whilst inside the original thickness of the wall projects some eleven inches into the hall, about 1 foot 8 inches high, which has misled Dr. Taylor into calling it "a stone bench." The hall measured internally 36 by 20 feet, and must have had an open timber roof much higher than the existing one. Over the present front door is built in what probably was the lintel to the original entrance. It consists of a deep stone with its face so cut away as to leave in relief a label mold with a

vase on either turned-up end, and in the centre a shield bearing the six annulets of Lowther within a Jacobean mantle. Unfortunately there is no date (Fig. I.).

The present partition and staircase are, of course, quite modern additions, and the doorway that now leads to the southern wing was once a two-light mullioned window; the lintel retained to form the doorhead can still be seen in the staircase lobby. (Plate II.)

That the southern and northern wings are subsequent additions is proved by the vertical joints at their junction with the centre block, and I am rather inclined to hazard the suggestion that they were erected some sixty-six years later. I would support my argument by pointing to the lintel over the present garden entrance on the east face of the southern wing (Fig. II.). The lintel has clearly been designed for a double-light mullioned window, and over the arches there is a shield, divided horizontally, with the date 1610 raised in relief on the lower panel. Now on looking closely at the date it will be seen that someone has tried to turn the third figure into a seven and the fourth into a six by the means of incision lines. May not this then have been done in the year 1676 when the window head was removed from a former position and re-erected here as a doorhead to the new wing?

This garden entrance leads direct into a sitting room, which is beautifully panelled in oak some eight feet high, whilst the room above is panelled to the ceiling with the long wide panels of the Jacobean period. On one side of the room there is an empty space, in which may have been fitted a piece of tapestry, or a picture, as is seen at Crackenthorpe Hall. The passage leading to the last room is lighted by borrowed light from the adjoining bedroom by means of an open balustrade forming the upper part of the dividing partition. The windows to this southern wing are all low and square headed, beneath labels, with one or two mullions and transomed.

That the present staircase lobby was not erected at this

PLATE II.—MAULD'S MEABURN HALL.
shewing end gable of central block.

Photo. by J. F. Curwen.

TO FACE P. 78.

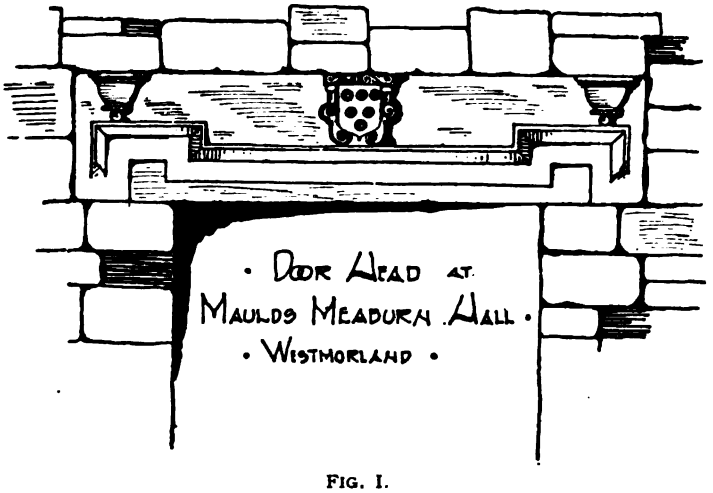

Fig. I.

time is evidenced from the fact that the foundation blocks on the western face of the wing can be seen projecting out above the paving of the lobby. Therefore to gain access to the upper rooms of this southern wing it became necessary to carry a gallery along the eastern face of the great hall, so that they could be thus reached from the

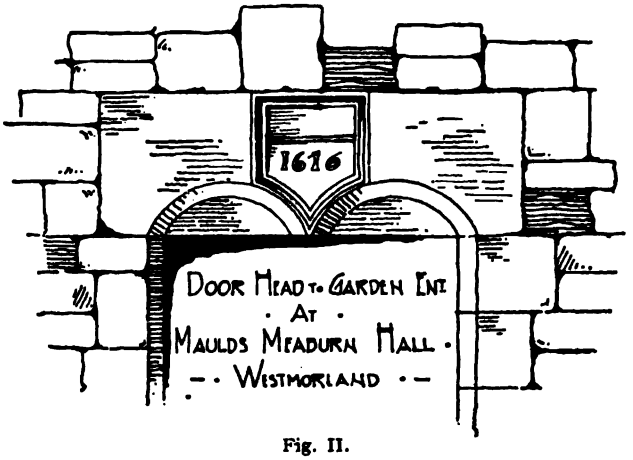

Fig. II.

circular newel stair. In the bedroom passage can be seen the now partially blocked-up doorway to this gallery; on the hall side traces of it can be seen in the plaster, and at the other end a very wide and beautiful oak door opens directly into the solar.

Circular stairways, however, under the best of conditions are not very accommodating to a lady's dress, so at last we come to the last addition—the square staircase hall. The black oak carved newel-posts surmounted by very massive balls, the well-turned circular balusters, and the panelled front of the risers are worthy of attention.

The manor house had attached to it a deer park, terraced walks, pleasure gardens and fine avenues, which, although somewhat lost by farm occupation, can be at least witnessed to by the elegance of the entrance piers. Notice the curious scroll-work ornamentation carved on the bottom of each pier. (Plate III.)

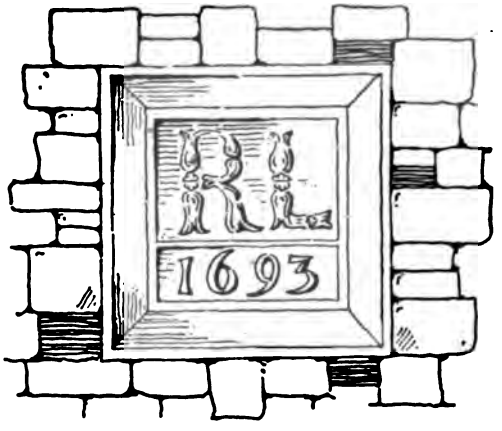

Fig. III.

Over an archway in the farmyard there is an inscribed stone framed within a square label giving the initials "R. L.," for Richard Lowther, in florid characters, and below the date 1693 (Fig. III.).

PLATE III.—MAULD'S MEABURN HALL.
shewing spiral markings on entrance gate piers.

Photo. by J. F. Curwen.

TO FACE P. 80.

Finally we must mention the two picturesque turrets on the southern side of the hall, some forty yards distant and the same measurement apart. They were built for earth-closets, and although it was in the Tudor period a frequent way of placing them at such a distance from the house, I only know of one other hall in this district where they can still be seen standing.

Our thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Winder for their courtesy in allowing me to examine every part of the hall, and for their accommodation on this visit.

NOTE BY MISS NOBLE.—"If I remember my grandmother's account aright, the hall was only roofed over whilst they were there (about 1807-1818). The pleasure grounds, six acres, were then in good order. My great-grandparents were succeeded by the Salkelds, and they also kept up the gardens. In their time the hall was put into the state we now see it, probably subsequent to 1820."

ART. VIII.—*The Pickering Shield of Arms at Crosby Ravensworth Hall.* By FRANCIS HASWELL, M.D.

Communicated at Crosby Ravensworth, July 11th, 1907.

THIS interesting shield of arms of the Pickering family stands above the doorway of the hall at Crosby Ravensworth, and no doubt is not in its original position, as the dripstone, which is the almost invariable accompaniment of such armorial shields, has gone.

It is also interesting as showing a shield of a knight banneret with supporters, which appear to be a lion and a unicorn. This is unusual in this county, but examples do occur on seals, and there is sufficient warrant for it.

The shield has eight quarterings :—

1. Ermine, a lion rampt. az. crowned or ... for Pickering
2. Argent, three chaplets gules ... ... for Lascells
3. Sable, a cross arg. in the dexter quarter a cinquefoil of the second ... ... for Moresby
4. Per fesse, gules and argent, six martlets counterchanged ... ... for Fenwick
5. Gules, a lion rampt. arg. debruised of a bendlet az. ... ... for Tyllioll
6. . . . . a cross moline . . . . for ?
7. . . . . a lion rampt. . . . . for Asby ?
   (if Asby, it is arg. a lion rampt. sa.)
8. Argent, a maunch gules ... ... for Threlkeld

Nos. 2, 3, and 8 are Pickering alliances, and come as follows :—

2. James Pickering=Margaret, daughter and heiress of . . . . Lascells, *circa.* 1480.
   (This is not a barry coat, and consequently not Greystock.)
3. James Pickering, Knight, his son, ob. 1516=Anne, daughter and heiress of Christopher Moresby, Knight.
8. James Pickering of Crosby Ravensworth, living 18 Henry VIII.=Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Lancelot Threlkeld, Knight.

THE PICKERING SLAB; St. Andrew's Church, Penrith.

THE PICKERING SHIELD OF ARMS; Crosby Ravensworth Hall.

Photo. by Dr. Haswell.

TO FACE P. 82.

Nos. 4, 5, and doubtfully 7 are Moresby alliances, thus:—

4. Christopher, son of Christopher Moresby, ob. 1499, who died during his father's lifetime=Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Fenwick.
5. Christopher Moresby, ob. 1459=Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Tyllioll.
7. Hugh de Moresby, ob. 1343=Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Asby of Asby.

I am doubtful about this coat, as the order on the shield would not warrant the assumption; but I give it with less diffidence as the coats 4 and 5, about which there is no doubt, are not in sequence.

There remains No. 6, a cross moline. It is not possible for this to be Vesci, as Dr. Taylor seems to think, as the Vesci arms are a plain cross, and Margaret, daughter and heiress of Henry Bromflett, Lord Vesci, who married Christopher Moresby, who died in 1499, would carry her paternal arms—sable, a bend flory, counter flory or, as shown on a corbel in Crosby Ravensworth Church. Also on the Pickering slab in St. Andrew's Church, Penrith, the cross moline is shown as a quartering of the Tylliolls. I can find no surnames of the wives of this latter family, and thus am unable to give an interpretation of the coat.

There is also at Crosby Hall a nice piece of Jacobean glass in the stairway window giving the arms of Lowther impaling Fleming:—

Sir John Lowther, ob. 1637=Eleanor, daughter of William Fleming of Rydal.

ART. IX.—*Kendal Castle.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Kendal Castle, July 12th, 1907.

I.—HISTORY.

ALTHOUGH the barony of Kendal was given over to Ivo de Tailbois, after the conquest, it must be remembered that he also possessed considerable estates in Lincolnshire—estates, it is to be imagined, that he found more enjoyable, for we can find no definite information of his ever being a benefactor to the town, of his building a castle, or indeed ever living here. Ketel, the son of Eldred, was allowed to remain in possession of his estates both here and in other manors under the overlordship of Ivo, and it is quite possible that he continued to dwell in the fortified tower on Castle How Hill.

Ivo was succeeded by the de Lancasters, who became in succession barons of Kendal, and Ketel was succeeded by his son Orme. This Orme received from Waltheof, the son of Earl Gospatric, as a marriage gift with Gunilda, the manors of Seaton, Camerton, Flimby, and Greysouthen, whereupon it is surmised that he left Kendal for we find that he "erected a fortified dwelling on the edge of an acclivity sloping rapidly seawards"—most probably the "Burrow Walls" near Workington. Gospatric, the son of Orme, became known as "de Wyrkington," and further relinquished his holdings in Westmorland by exchanging, with William de Lancaster I., Middleton for other manors in Cumberland. These facts may possibly throw a light upon the date of the dismantling of the fortress on Castle How.

After two generations, the barony passed into the hands of Helwise, the daughter and heiress of the second William de Lancaster. She was married in 1184 to Gilbert, the son of Roger Fitz Reinfred, who obtained from Richard I. the whole forest of Westmorland, of Kendal, and of Furness, to have and to hold in the same manner in which William de Lancaster had held it. And it is to the lasting credit of this feudal lord and his wife that, having nearly unlimited power, they used it to the benefit of the community. Having noted the industry of the Kendal people, they granted them privileges, gave them a seneschal in the person of Matthew de Redman of Levens, practically rebuilt the church, and also with the King's consent instituted a weekly Saturday market. Gilbert and Helwise lived at Kendal, and it seems to me more than likely that we owe to them the first building of a *stone* castle upon this hill.

But Gilbert, the good, was unfaithful to his patron John, the bad, and with the other barons joined in rebellion. Unfortunately his son William was captured at Rochester, and Gilbert had to pay a ransom of 12,000 marks for him together with Ralph Deincourt and Lambert le Brus, his esquires, and further had to deliver unto the King his castle of Kirkby-in-Kendal around which lay all his dependencies. However, the castle and manor were restored to his son William, and we find that he was placed in his father's trust as keeper of the honour of Lancaster under date 25th Henry III.

This William de Lancaster III. and his sister Helwise married respectively Agnes and Peter le Brus de Skelton, whilst another sister, Alice, became the wife of William de Lyndsay. Now William de Lancaster dying without male issue, devised this valuable manor into two portions; the first or principal portion, which included the castle, he granted to his eldest sister Helwise, and the second, subsequently known as the Richmond fee, to his younger sister Alice.

By an inquisition taken in 1279 on the death of Peter le Brus, son of the aforesaid Helwise and Peter, we find that he was seized "of a moiety of the Manor of Kirkby-in-Kendale, and as parcel thereof, of the castle, with the parks, the vivaria within the parks, and herbage therein of the yearly value of ten marks." The castle, "with all in Kendale that had been Peter's in demesnes, villenages, rents, and services of free men and others," subsequently known as the Marquis Fee, fell to the share of his eldest sister Margaret le Brus, who married Robert de Roos. Agnes, the second sister, received nothing in Westmorland, her whole share being in Lancashire and Yorkshire; whilst Lucy, the third sister, received the small share of the barony of Westmorland which subsequently became known as the Lumley Fee.

But it is only with the "Marquis Fee" that we are now interested. This remained in the family of de Roos (as the accompanying pedigree will shew) for the space of six generations until the heiress Elizabeth married in 1383 Sir William del Parr, and thus carried the estates and the old castle into the possession of a good family with limited wealth. Passing over some 150 years we come to another Sir William, who was created Lord Parr and Roos of Kendal in 1539, Baron Hart and Earl of Essex in 1544, and Marquis of Northampton in 1547, from which latter title the fee took its present name. But among all the inmates of Kendal Castle few interest us so much as the Marquis's elder sister, Katherine, that cultivated girl, who was reckoned so fair a prize, that even at the age of eleven years an alliance was sought with her by the great Lord Scrope of Bolton.

Shee was told by an astrologer that did calculate her nativitie, that shee was borne to sett in the highest of Imp'iall Majestie, which became moste true. Shee had all the eminent starrs and planetts in her house: this did worke such a loftie conceite in her that her mother coulde nevver make her serve or doe any small work, saying her handes were ordayned to touch crownes and scepters, not needles and thymbles.

But however disposed the little Katherine was to dispense with the performance of her tasks, Lady Maud was too wise a parent to allow vain dreams of royalty to unfit her child for the duties of her station, and notwithstanding Katherine's early repugnance to touch a needle, her future skill and industry in its use became so remarkable that there are specimens of her embroidery which could scarcely have been surpassed.

Among the Scrope MSS. there is a curious letter from her mother to Lord Dacre, in which she assures him that "there can be no marriage until my lord's son (Scrope) comes to the age of 13 and my daughter to the age of 12." Katherine, however, was soon married after this to Lord Borough of Gainsborough, "a discreet widower, well advanced in years." Then we find at the age of sixteen she was left a widow, "lovely and wealthy." Whilst still a minor we again hear of her as the wife of a mature widower, John Nevill, Lord Latimer, and undertaking the office of step-mother. Some ten years later, at the age of thirty, that prediction of her brilliant destiny became true, for on the 12th day of July, 1543, she married her royal master, King Henry VIII.

But to return to her brother the Marquis of Northampton. He was attainted of treason on the 18th of August, 1553, for espousing the cause of Lady Jane Grey, was condemned as a traitor, and Kendal Castle was seized by the Crown. However, his life was spared, and in the following year, by special charter, bearing date January 8th, Philip and Mary granted back to William Parr, without his honours, "the whole demesne, manor, castle and park of Kendal and all those desmesne lands without the walls of the said park, and the mill and burgages in the vill or burgh aforesaid." It seems to have been left to Queen Elizabeth in 1559 to grant back to him "for favouring the protestant religion" all his honours and former possessions including the right of holding court here.

William died without legal issue in 1571, and from this time the noble building seems, after long years of neglect, to have gone rapidly to decay. The deer park, which with the fourteen others around Kendal, at this time so celebrated for their fallow deer, suffered first, being disparked in the year 1566.

A survey made July 12th, 1572, thus mentions the domestic buildings :—

The out walls embattled 40 ft square . . . . . within the same no building left, saving only, on the north side is situate the front of the gatehouse, the hall with an ascent of the stairs to the same, with a buttery and pantry at the end thereof; one great chamber and 2 or 3 lesser chambers, and rooms of ease, adjoining the same, all being in decay both in glass and slates and in all other reparations needful. Under the hall are two or three small rows of cellars. In the south side is situated a dove-cot. The walls are circular, guarded by three towers and a keep, with a large square area in the centre, being all in a state of dilapidation. In its doors and window jambs, and in a few quoins we find the red sandstone, but the main work is built with unhewn blue rock from the hills.

Three years later the slating was taken off most of the roofs as being then dangerous, but in the inventory taken on November 5th, 1578, by Henry Fissher of Kendal, we read that the castle was still partly slated. There is a State paper, addressed by Edward Braddyll to Lord Burghley, then Lord High Treasurer of England, dated April 10th, 1578, setting forth that the "castell at this present" is of less selling value by £25 than it was at the last survey sixteen years ago. This is certified into Her Grace's Exchequer by the "othes of 24 substantiall men of the baronye," who say that "the moste parte of the rouffs of the said castell are falne downe, the tymber and sclayte pitifully broken, the gutters of lead, iron in windowes and doors pilfered and stoln away. And if your Honors take not order of that which remayneth there will be lytle lefte to sell within short tyme."

Camden (1551-1623) says :—"The castle over against the town is ready to drop down with age," and neither

THE EAST VIEW OF KENDAL-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTMORLAND.

AT what Time, or by Whom, this Castle was built, we can not find in History, but it may be presum'd that it was the Mansion of the ancient Barons of Kendal, the first of which was Ivo Taleboys, of whose Posterity William, by consent of Henry II. call'd himself William of Lancaster. ——————— 1. Kendal Town

Sam'l & Nath'l Buck delin. 1 Sculp. Published according to Act of Parliament, March 26 1739

TO FACE P. 89.

of his learned editors, who, in most instances, added materially to his descriptions, have added a single observation. Grose has altogether overlooked it. The curiously long-credited story that it was blown down by Oliver Cromwell from Castle How is, of course, quite erroneous.

The accompanying illustration drawn by the brothers Buck in 1739, shews the castle pretty faithfully as it appeared in those days.

When the poet Gray visited the ruin, in 1769, he said:—

> Almost the whole inclosure-wall remains, with four towers, two square and two round, but their upper parts and embattlements are demolished; it is of rough stone and cement without any ornament of arms, round, inclosing a court of the like form, and surrounded by a moat, nor ever could it have been larger than it is, for there are no traces of outworks.

To this West replied, in 1779, saying:—

> Had Mr. Gray ascended from the end of Stramongate Bridge, which was the only way to the castle in its glory, and is the easiest at present, he would have observed a square area that had been fortified with a deep moat, and connected with the castle by a draw-bridge, where was probably the base-court.

And so by degrees did this ancient pile fall gradually to decay, and I can find no record of any endeavour to save it from total destruction, until the January of 1813, when the owner strengthened the foundation, and took many other wise precautions to stay the fall. In consequence of the generous gift of £1000 made by the directors of the late Savings Bank in Kendal to the Corporation with other moneys, they were enabled to approach Lady Henry Bentinck and obtain from her about thirty acres of the castle estate. An additional piece of thirteen acres on the southern slope were subsequently purchased from the Fleming trustees, and the whole ground thus acquired was thrown open to the public on the 22nd of June, 1897, as a memento of our late Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

II.—The Ruins.

The ruins as seen to-day consists of (1) the earth-works; (2) foundations to the curtain wall; (3) the remains of four towers; (4) the north-east wall of the great banqueting hall and a few vaulted cellars beneath.

The summit of the hill—a terminal moraine—is some 170 feet above the level of the river Kent, or 300 feet above the ordnance datum level. The castle walls enclose an area 250 feet in diameter, whilst outside there is a deep dry moat with the counter-scarp rising, even now, 23 feet to the top of the vallum. Doubtless the moat has been very considerably filled in, with the falling ruins and débris, so that in its original depth we can imagine the formidable nature of these earth-works. Beyond the gate-house there are the traces of at least one outer bailey, measuring 110 × 96 feet with a broad moat clearly defined around the north and western sides.

The foundations of the rampart wall measure 6 feet 3 inches in width, and from the level of the guard's room floor, in the round tower, above the basement level, it would appear that the rampart walk was some 14 feet in height. It will be noticed that the wall was joined up to the great southern keep at its two diagonal corners, so as to leave the western face of the tower projecting out beyond it some 26 feet.

The gatehouse stood at the northern end of the enclosure with a draw-bridge across the moat. There are no traces of this gate now left, but fortunately we have a very ancient painting preserved in the Kendal Museum which gives, what certainly seems to be, a very good representation, although poorly drawn, of its probable appearance.

If we follow round the western segment we come first of all to the round guard tower projecting about equally without and within the curtain. The basement is a vaulted chamber 10 feet in diameter, and with walls 5 feet 9 inches thick. It is entered from the court-yard by a

Photo. by J. F. Curwen. KENDAL CASTLE ; Moat at North end. TO FACE P. 90.

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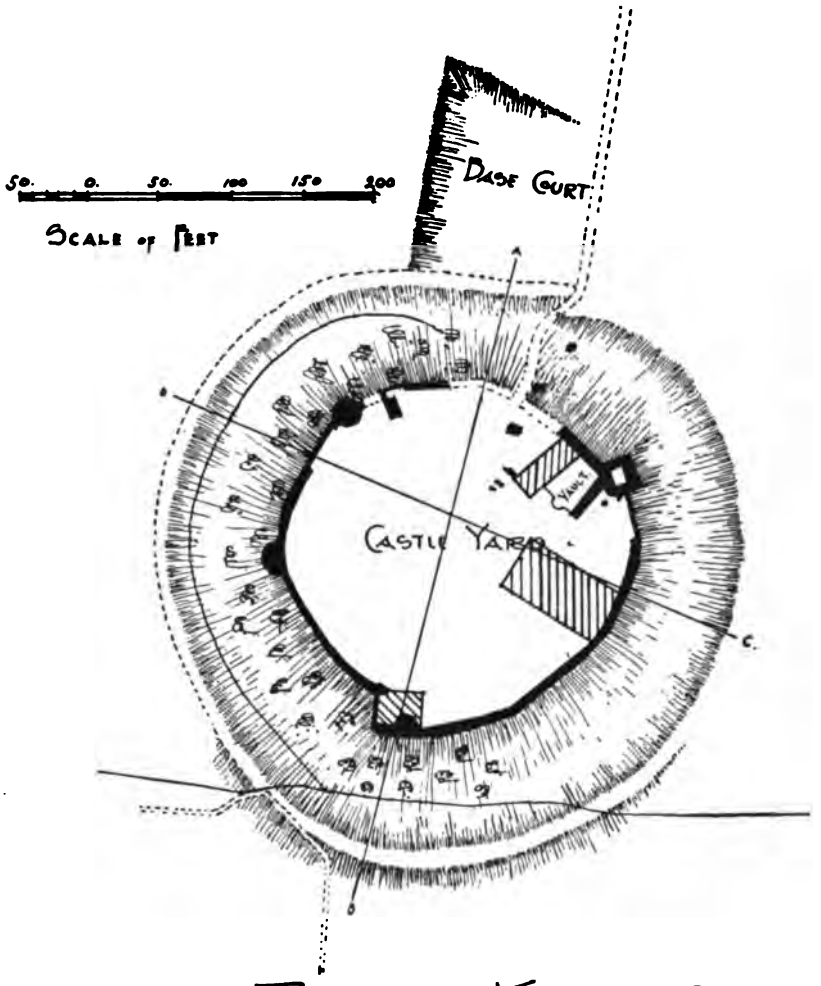
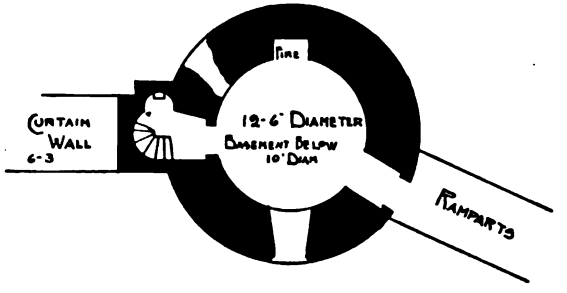


Plan of Kendal Castle.

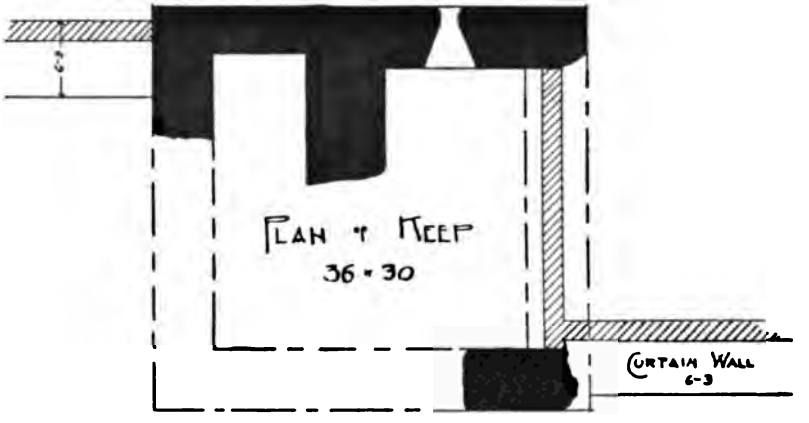
Hatched Portion according to John Todd's Plan

1787.

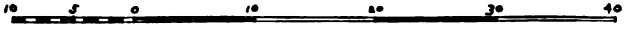
· KENDAL CASTLE ·



PLAN of ROUND TOWER on RAMPART LEVEL



SCALE of FEET.



KENDAL CASTLE ; Round Tower and portion of Rampart Wall left as an abutment.

Photo by J. F. Curwen.

TO FACE P. 92.

UNIV. OF MICH.

KENDAL CASTLE ; Shewing Eastern Tower and Scarp.

Photo. by J. F. Curwen. TO FACE P. 93.

door-way rebated to receive the door, and it is aired rather than lighted by a very tiny loophole. The guard chamber above has a diameter of 12 feet 6 inches, and was entered direct from off the ramparts; there is a good sized window, facing into the court-yard southwards, and opposite to it there is a fire-place recessed into the wall. A narrow door-way leads out into a small staircase turret, built entirely upon the thickness of the curtain, and which communicated with the floors above. From this stair-way there is a curiously constructed garderobe recess, corbelled out so as to overhang the moat. The upper stories and battlement have disappeared.

Continuing southward we come to a small drum tower 18 feet in diameter, with no internal projection and about half disengaged on the outside. It was a bastion with enfilading loopholes, rather than a tower.

On the southern extremity of the enclosure facing down the valley and hence toward the most probable approach of an enemy, are the remains of the keep. A quadri-lateral building measuring 36 × 34 feet, with walls 5 feet thick. On the outside can be still seen the red sandstone jambs of the postern gate, but there is little else left except a two-feet wide window opening placed almost immediately above.

Returning back around the eastern segment we pass over what was probably the site of the chapel and officers' quarters, until we come to the square tower at the north-east angle. This is the best preserved portion of all the ruins, and can be seen to greatest advantage from the outside, where the face measures 26 feet, and where the northern face projects out 17 feet 6 inches from the curtain. Above the ponderous plinth can be seen the outlet to a mural drain, and as each floor succeeds in height the massive walls set boldly inwards. Like each of the other towers it was clearly built for defence with enfilading loopholes to protect the curtain, and seemingly was also entered from the ramparts. At the north-east

angle there is a circular stair leading up to the chambers above. I think that the kitchens must have been placed just within the enclosure at this point, for there is here a well-contrived drain passing somewhat horizontally through the mass of masonry to the outside.

Between this point and the gatehouse were situated the lord's apartments, of which the only remains are a portion of two sides of the great hall, and a few vaulted cellars beneath. The banqueting hall measured 30 feet wide; its eastern wall was 8 feet 6 inches thick, and through it, in a length of 40 feet, two large window openings remain. The sketch above referred to, however, shews two additional windows, before reaching the gatehouse which would make the hall and the lord's withdrawing-rooms some 83 feet in total length. If, as I surmise, the kitchens were placed against the tower, then the dais would be at the further end toward the gatehouse with the private withdrawing-rooms behind. There is nothing special to mention relating to the cellars, excepting perhaps the insertion of a fire-place within one of them, and a small arched opening near the ground to the left of it.

The mill, that invariable concomitant of a castle, is to be seen to the west, down by the river. It still bears the name of "The Castle Mills," whilst the Castle Dairy stands, in just its ancient form, a little further up the stream to the northward.

KENDAL CASTLE: Ruins of Great Hall and Kitchen.

TO FACE P. 94.

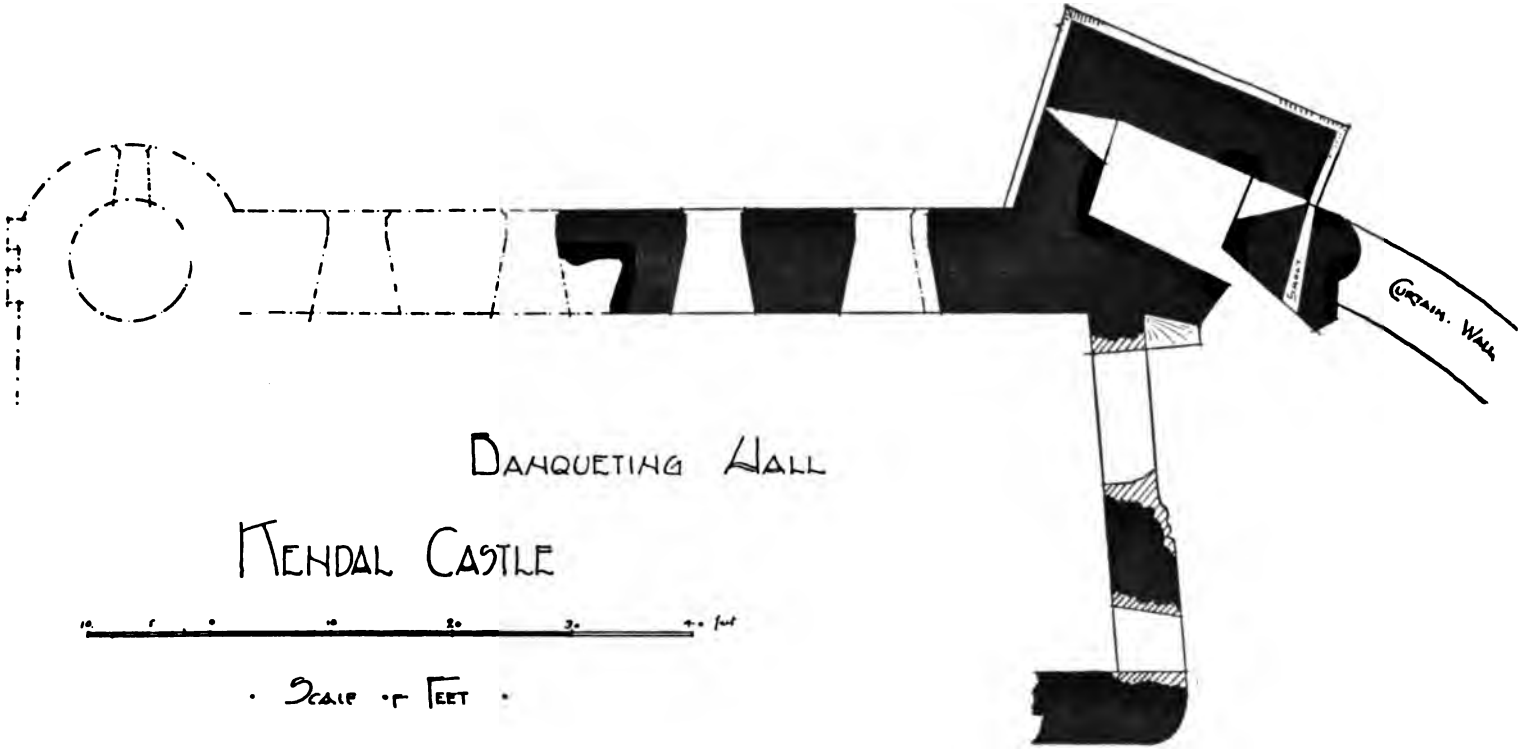

Curtain. Wall
Banquetting Hall
Kendal Castle
Scale of Feet

Photo. by J. F. Curwen. CASTLE HOW, KENDAL. TO FACE P. 97.

ART. X.—*Three more ancient Castles of Kendal.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Read at the Sites, July 12th, 1907.

THERE are not many towns which, like Kendal, are surrounded by four distinct fortified sites with remains still visible, representing four totally different stages in the art of defence, and four periods so far apart as the British, the Roman, the early mediæval and the late mediæval. From the Monument Hill we can see all these fortresses at once—the ruined castle, rising over against us across the river—this earlier mote-hill on which we stand—down the Kent the Roman camp at Watercrook—and beyond it, defined upon the skyline, the serrated ramparts of the prehistoric stronghold on the Helm.

Another site, Coney-beds on Hay Fell, was not visited on this occasion but should be added to the list of Kendal Castles.

I.—CASTLE HOW.

To proceed from the known to the unknown, let us begin with the Monument. The inscription upon the tablet reads " Sacred to Liberty, this obelisk was erected in the year 1788, in memory of the Revolution in 1688." In his book on *Kirkbie Kendall*, Mr. J. F. Curwen notes that the obelisk, 36 feet high, of hewn limestone,

was erected by the inhabitants, and executed by the benevolent William Holme from the design of his architectural partner, Francis Webster. The author of *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes* (1792) visited the monument a few years after its erection, and thought that from the shortness of the column there must have been a great lack of funds. Other critics indeed felt this so keenly that for a

considerable time it went by the name of "Bill Holme's Bodkin." The base has been sadly broken and ofttimes filled in and mended with cement, so that the following remarkable words, which are said to have been engraved on a corner-stone, are now entirely lost to us:—"that no foreign prince or potentate has, or ought to have, any power, civil or ecclesiastical, within these realms."

Nicolson and Burn, writing before the obelisk was erected, describe the site as

a large artificial mount, called *Castle how-hill*; which, from its name, seems to have been intended as a fort: It is within sight of the Roman station at *Water-crook;* and is very like the exploratory mounts, Mr. Horsley observes, which are to be seen in other places, especially near the military ways: But whether it is Roman, and relates to the station; or more modern, and erected with a view to the castle; he doth not take upon him to determine.

Cornelius Nicholson (*Annals of Kendal*, pp. 20, 21) put it down with the Castle Hill as Roman, partly because a Roman coin had been found in the ruins of Kendal Castle. Stukeley (*Iter Boreale*, 40) thought it Saxon. Housman, in his *Descriptive Tour and Guide* (1802), mentioned this "curious artificial mount called the Castle-law Hill . . . as it is believed, one of those hills called *laws*, where in ancient times the administration of justice took place." Castle-*law*, however, has nothing to do with *law*-giving; *law* or *low* in this connection is simply the Anglo-Saxon *hlæw*, a hill or mound: and Castle-law or Castle-low is precisely parallel to Castle-*how*, from the Norse *haugr*, a mound, which is the true name of the site—"Castell howe" in the *Boke off Recorde* (p. 105), in A.D. 1577; for in our old dialect *law* is replaced by *howe*. If we call it a *mote*-hill, this also has no reference to the Anglo-Saxon *mōt-hus* or *mōt-stow*, court-house or meeting-place, or the Icelandic *mót*, a meeting, but it is the *motte* of the Norman-French builders of fortified *mounts*.

There can be no doubt that the author of the article on Kendal in *Whellan* (p. 839) was mistaken when he was

"inclined to give it (Castle How) a Danish or Norwegian origin; and to consider it to have been one of the places in which the 'Thing' was held." The Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man and a few other examples of rocks or mounds used like the Bema of the Pnyx at Athens—as pulpits in an assembly—do not really afford any support to the idea that so big a hill as this could be used to any purpose as a place of meeting. By a similar fallacy the doom-rings of Iceland—circles of stone seats for the judges to sit upon in their open-air court—have been supposed to countenance the theory that megalithic circles were "thing-steads." But the analogy of flat-topped, conical, artificial mounds of this size, seen frequently elsewhere, shews us that this Castle How was a fortified mote-hill, though not of the perfectly regular form which is now assigned to the earliest Norman period.

The mote-hill must be distinguished from the artificial mound without the fosse and without the flat, circular summit. In Chancellor Ferguson's *Archæological Survey of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Archæologia, liii.), the mound at Kendal (new) Vicarage is noted as a "moated mound" of post-Roman date, in the same class with the Castle How, and with the mote-hill at Kirkby Lonsdale Vicarage. It looks, however, more like a great barrow of much earlier age: there are several such in the district—at Watercrook, at Pennington, and elsewhere—which have never been explored.

Castle How is not a barrow. It has been made by cutting trenches across a sharp tongue or spur of hill-side, a ridge of limestone rock covered with moraine deposit. The loose earth has been thrown up from the excavations upon the central height, raising it, as one can reckon by comparing the 36-foot obelisk with the hill, to about 50 feet above the flat field below upon the east, or about 30 feet above the rock ridge down to which the trenches were dug. There is no fosse to east and west,

the scarp of the natural hill giving sufficient protection; and in this respect it is not a perfect *motte*. But the top is flat and roughly circular: it has been about 60 feet in diameter, protected, like Irthington Mote, by a low breastwork or rampart now hardly traceable but described by writers of one hundred years ago, who also noted a slight ditch following the breastwork, and a trench struck through the centre of the summit from east to west, which may possibly have been the result of attempts at exploration. The remains of the spur of hill to south-east and north, left after cutting the fosse, have been described as bastions; but they are no part of the fortification as such. The intention was to surround the crown of the hill with a palisade, inside which the wooden hall of the owner, and any smaller buildings—such as bower, smithy, etc.—were safe from assault. Below, to the east, was the usual base-court occupying the flat field from which our view is taken—the intrenched farm-yard ("basse cour") of the homestead which, though intended to be defensible, was essentially a farmer's home.

"Immediately below Castle How Hill, says Pennant, is a spot called *Battle Place*. Why—he has not informed us. We can find no spot now of the name"—is the comment of Cornelius Nicholson; though in the same book *(The Annals of Kendal)* he reproduced Speed's map of 1614 upon which *The Battail Place* is marked to east of the *Mount*—on ground occupied in John Todd's map of 1767 by the *Bowling Green* and *Bowling Fell*. Mr. Curwen in *Kirkbie Kendall* (p. 85) cites a deed of 1667 describing a property as "adjoining and butting upon . . . Battell Place": and he tells us that another property, at the top of Captain French Lane on the north side, sold in March, 1864, was described by title deeds of 1767 and 1796 as "called Catcastle, situated under a certain place called Battle Place." "Catcastle" in local dialect is the second figure in the game of Cat's-cradle; but there was an earlier use of the word. Joinville, in

his *Histoire de Saint Louis*, describing the action at Damietta, 1250, tells us: "Fist faire le roy deux beffrois que l'en appele chas-chastiau; car il avoit deux chastiaus devant les chas et deux massons darrières les chastiaus, pour couvrir ceulx qui guieteroient, pour les copz des engins aux Sarrazins." The cat was a covered machine driven up to castle walls to sap them, to fill up the ditches and assist the advance of the towers (beffrois). The tower, or cat-castle, was a covered gallery, with turrets, made of wood and pushed forward on wheels, from which attackers shot at the beleaguered walls. In this manner the siege of a stronghold was carried on in the thirteenth century and earlier: for similar machines are described by Frankish chroniclers as used by the Danes in their siege of Paris so far back as 885.

Now the survival of the names "Battle-place" and "Cat-castle" seem to indicate that the fortress on Kendal mote-hill was once besieged, though all historical notice of the event has been lost. We know of a battle on Kendal Heath, on May 13th, 1648, but Speed's map is dated thirty-four years earlier, and the type of fort and the word "Cat-castle" point to some event in the early middle-age. Such an event would be possible at the alternate invasions of the north by the Scots and by King Stephen in 1138, followed by the battle of the Standard; and again in 1139 during King Stephen's second incursion into Scotland. Henry II. or his troops invaded Westmorland and forcibly occupied the country after the death of King David (*Tracts relating to the English Claims; Chron., Picts and Scots*, p. 255), and at any rate in 1157 the part of the county till then held by the King of Scots was surrendered to England.

It would seem therefore that if this place were ever besieged it may have been during the period 1138-1157. Mr. Curwen, in his article on Kendal Castle, clears up the difficulty about the succession of estates in the twelfth century by explaining that Orm f. Ketel f. Eldred removed

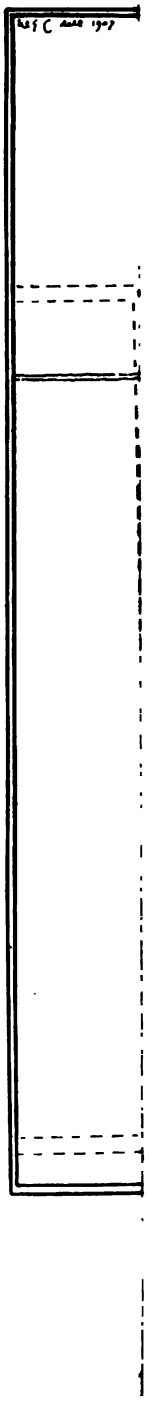
from Kendal to Workington. He died about 1156. His son Gospatric of Workington exchanged his holdings in Westmorland with William de Lancaster for other manors in Cumberland. Gospatric was the man who surrendered Appleby to the Scots in 1174, being a relative of the Scottish King and of William Fitz Duncan, Earl of Murray, and a landholder in Galloway. The Scottish leanings of the family on the Castle How may account for its siege and destruction, as they account for the removal of the family to the further side of Cumberland.

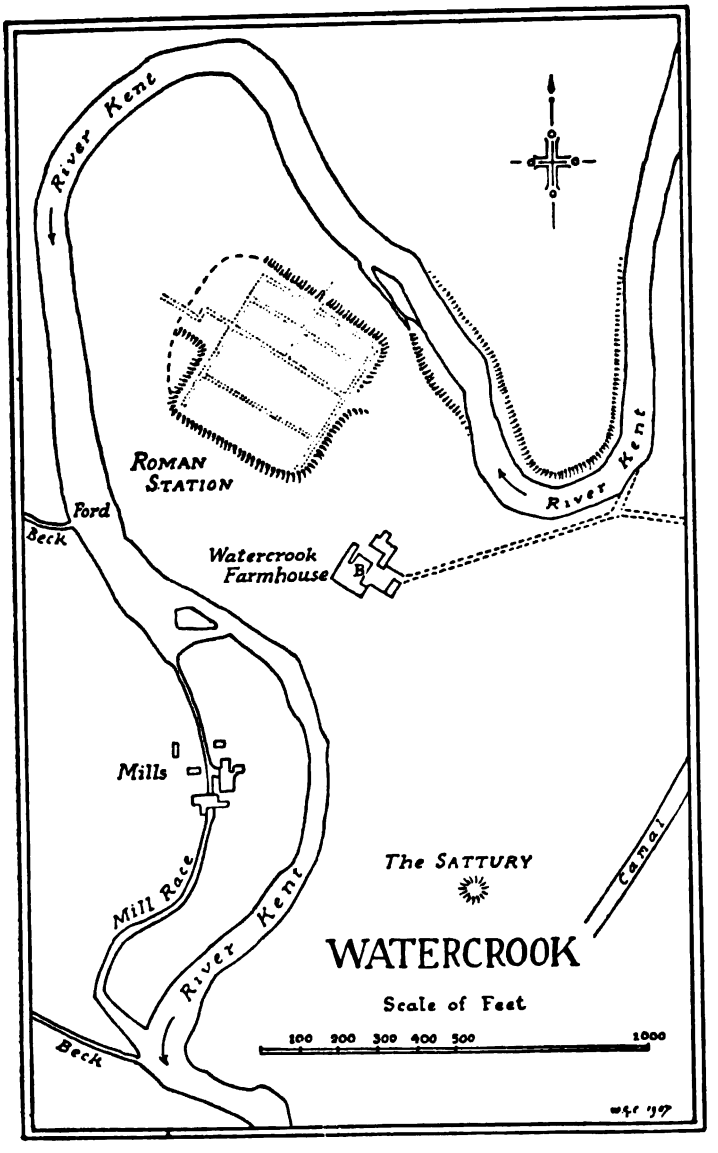
II.—The Roman Station at Watercrook.

In August, 1887, after some weeks of drought, Mr. Mason of Watercrook noticed that the field in which the remains of the Roman camp are situated was marked out in straight lines. The sun had scorched the turf where the earth was shallow, and traces of something beneath the surface were revealed. Mr. Mason informed Mr. Arthur Hoggarth of Kendal, who made a survey of the markings on the camp site.

This survey was exhibited to the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of the Isle of Man, by Dr. Alfred Haviland, whose description of it was reported in the *Westmorland Gazette* for February 8th, 1890: but it has not been shewn to our Society until now. With Mr. Hoggarth's kind permission we give a reduced copy of his original, which is most valuable as showing the exact disposition of the streets in the camp, for these lines must of course be those of the solid pavement or hard metal of the roadways.

The plan, however, does not take in the whole area of the camp, still less the range of suburbs, in which relics occasionally found bear witness to a large and wealthy population. There must have been another street on the south-south-west, making the internal parallelogram 350 feet by perhaps 400 feet as against 500 by 380 feet, or according to Horsley 6 by 8 chains, *i.e.*, 396 by 528 feet,




River Kent
Roman Station
Ford
Beck
Watercrook Farmhouse
River Kent
Mills
Mill Race
River Kent
Beck
The Sattury
Canal
WATERCROOK
Scale of Feet
100 200 300 400 500 1000

the measurement given by old writers; which must mean not only the whole camp including the ramparts but including also a curved addition to the north-west, of which the line is marked on the ordnance survey and copied in our map opposite, with Mr. Hoggarth's street-plan superimposed on the earth-works. The area of the space enclosed by the streets as mapped is estimated by Mr. Hoggarth at 2 acres 1 rood 26 perches: Horsley estimated the total area at about 5 acres, *i.e.*, including the curved addition; while Dr. Whitaker, quoted by Cornelius Nicholson, said that the whole extent of ground covered by the city was 14 acres: perhaps not overstated, as the peninsula contains about 22 acres. The streets are 10 or 12 feet broad. The Via Praetoria crosses the camp from the Porta Praetoria on the east-south-east and passes through the Porta Decumana on the west-north-west, outside of which it takes a turn to the left and then continues 44 yards in a straight line towards the river. From the centre of the camp and at right angles to the Via Praetoria runs the Via Principalis going out towards the river, which winds round the site, making a peninsula of the camp and its suburbs.

It is remarkable that no indications were seen of the official buildings south-west of the Via Praetoria, nor did the ramparts shew the footing of a stone wall. The absence of the usual wealth of cut stones in the immediate neighbourhood seems to give additional reason for supposing that there was no stone wall, and that the rampart was of earth; yet in the farm-house there are a few cut blocks of red sandstone showing that some buildings did exist. Mr. Mason points out places in his shippon (at B in the sketch-map opposite) and at the corner of the house nearest to it, where there are underground cavities and the summits of arches appearing above the level of the ground. These may possibly represent the baths and hypocaust of bricks and cement noticed by Machell in the seventeenth century and described by Horsley—"in the ruins were

reservoirs for water, made with cement, and a semicircular course of vacuities, like ovens, divided by thin bricks": on which Chancellor Ferguson remarked that similar vacuities had been found at Chesters in Northumberland, and were conjectured to be places for bathers to deposit their clothes.

Of relics Horsley noticed several coins, including a large brass of Faustina; three intaglios, of which one in a gold ring represented Mercury, and another was triple headed; a vessel of doubtful use, urns found in the river bank, and four stones, namely—a small altar inscribed DEAE M . . . ; an altar without inscription but bearing festoons of grapes (now in Kendal Museum, see illustration), an imperfect statue of Bacchus or Silenus (now in Kendal Museum), and the inscribed tombstone (now in Kendal Museum, see illustration) which Bishop Nicolson noted as found in 1688 (these *Transactions*, xii., art. 6). West says that it was in the wall of the barn in his time—the end of the eighteenth century. The inscription reads:—" P(ublius) AEL(ius) P(ublii) F(ilius) SERG(ius) BASS(anianus?—a long name is needed to fill the space broken off) Q(uaestor) DS(designatus) LEG(ionis) XX V(ictricis) V(alentis) VIX(it) AN(nos: number of years lost, also a proper name) ET P(ublius) RIVATUS LIBB. (his freedmen) ET HER (the R joined with another letter and a long name required such as Hermilianus) MS (a soldier) LEG(ionis) VI. VIC(tricis) FCC (fecerunt). SI Q(uis in hoc) SEPULC(rum) ALIUM MORT(uum intul)ERIT INFER(et) F(isco) DD. NN. (if anyone puts another corpse into this grave let him pay into the treasury of our lords," the amount is broken off). And then poorly cut in taller letters by another hand " L NAS AEL SVR I," apparently referring to another interment in spite of the fine payable.

Bishop Nicolson also mentioned a plain altar found in 1687, and inscribed " . . . DEAB . . . SACRV . . . VALENS . . . AVG. V.S.L.M." Can this be the " DEAE M " altar of

THE INSCRIBED STONE FROM WATERCROOK (Kendal Museum).
Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

TO FACE P. 106.

THE ALTAR FROM WATERCROOK
(Kendal Museum).

Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson. TO FACE P. 107.

Horsley, or still another one ? He also gives particulars of the coins ; beside the bronze of Faustina there was a gold coin of Augustus and a silver of Lucilla. These and the intaglios belonged, early in the eighteenth century, to Mr. Guy of Kendal, but are lost. In 1608 a gold coin or medal of Vespasian was found between Watercrook and the Helm (Cornelius Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal*, p. 18). In 1813 pottery works were discovered opposite the camp by the edge of the brook where it joins the Kent and a little way down the river, south of and opposite the mills; there was also found an urn without handles and with a band of broached ornament round its broadest part, containing human ashes, iron and charcoal (*Ibid.*).

In the *Kendal and County News* for February 17th, 1890, Mr. Titus Wilson mentions finding quantities of charcoal on the site of the camp, where some digging had been done under his supervision. In the Kendal Museum are also a small urn with handles and several fragments, one of which is an amphora handle stamped "MLT." Mr. John Watson of Kendal has another amphora handle stamped "MMGSA"; and Mr. Anthony Moorhouse in 1906 found in the garden of the farm-house pieces of red ware, one stamped "ALBINI M.," by the potter who flourished 80 to 110 A.D. Mr. Mason tells us of a Roman lamp found by Mrs. Mason in the river bank, now in a private collection ; and of an urn into which a cow stuck her horn in Potlands, the field where the urn of 1813 was found.

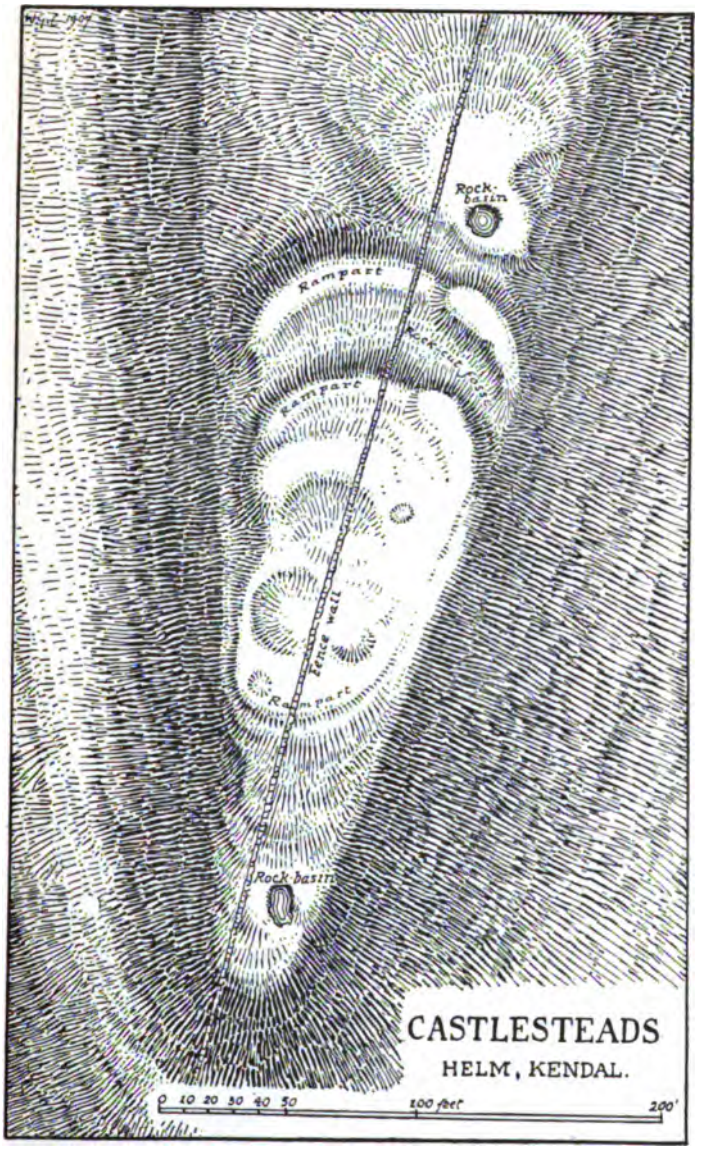
In this field is the *Mount*, or the *Sattury*, an oval barrow 165 paces in circumference and about 15 feet high. West thought it "something dedicated to Saturn." Cornelius Nicholson supposed it to be the general burial place of the garrison. It looks like a barrow of an age long anterior to the Roman occupation ; but the whole of this interesting site awaits competent exploration. The name seems to resemble that of Setterah given to sites of early habitations at Bampton : perhaps from

Norse *Sætr-haugr*—"Satterhow"—the mound of the settlement.

The name of "Concangium" found on the maps was suggested by Camden at a guess from the resemblance of the *Can* to the *Kent:* and though he withdrew the suggestion it has been popularly adopted down to the present time in spite of the protests of antiquaries. Reynolds in 1799, General Sir John Woodford, and R. S. Ferguson in 1876 proposed "Galacum"—but for the present we must call the site by its modern name of Watercrook. We can, however, infer from the coins and pottery that it was fortified at an early period of the Roman occupation, as a station on the line of road from Lancaster by Ambleside and Hardknott to the port at Ravenglass. Its lack of stone walls suggests that it was never an important fortress in war, and the curved addition to the plan may mean that it became a populous centre, administrative and residential.

III.—Castlesteads on the Helm.

Our Society visited these earth-works on September 25th, 1893, when "several of the party climbed up to see them, and the opinion formed was that they were not Roman, but British; the site is not such as the Romans were wont to select, nor do the works in plan or profile seem Roman." They have been mentioned by Stukeley, Housman, and Hodgson. West imagined the signalling operations of the Romans from this "Castellum" to Warton Crag, and Whellan said it was "supposed to have formed a summer station for the garrison of Galacum." Cornelius Nicholson (*Annals of Kendal*, p. 18) gives a fancifully drawn plan, saying that the place is no doubt an exploratory fort, and adding as a reason for the opinion that the gold coin of Vespasian found in 1806 was discovered "in a lineal direction from Concangium to the castrum exploratorium. . . . It seems probable that it had been scattered by one of the soldiers in passing


Rock-basin
Rampart
Rampart
Fence wall
Rampart
Rock basin
CASTLESTEADS
HELM, KENDAL.
0 10 20 30 40 50
100 feet
200'

CASTLESTEADS ON THE HELM, NEAR KENDAL:
SEEN FROM THE NORTH.

from one place to the other." The 25 inch ordnance survey shows a mere conventional oval lettered "Castrum Exploratorium."

The sketch opposite represents the general appearance of the site and with two figures on the summit to suggest the scale. The plan on p. 109, though not instrumentally surveyed, is from careful measurement and shows the chief features of the fort. To the north are two considerable ramparts formed by cutting across the ridge of the Helm; in one place the fosse is cut through rock, or rather through the looser surface-layers of the weathered stone (Upper Silurian, Kirkby moor flags), giving a deep ditch from which the inner rampart now stands about 7 feet high. The outer rampart also stands about 7 feet above the ground just north of the word "Rampart" upon it in the plan—but where the modern fence wall crosses the outer fosse it has been partly filled up with rubbish. The summit of the fort measures 139 feet along the fence wall, and in breadth across the widest part a little under 80 feet. The rampart has been continued as a slight breast-work, now partly destroyed, along the east and west sides where the edges of the hill are very steep; but at the south end it broadens into a substantial bank 25 feet across. In this and on the area of the summit east of the fence wall are two small pits apparently made by attempts at digging in modern times: but there are also three shallow depressions which once may have been more or less circular, and suggest hut-circles. The largest would have contained a building of the same size as that found in Urswick Stone Walls, which measured about 40 feet externally, and 22 feet inside: though the surface here shows no signs of a stone building. Some exploration ought to prove interesting.

On the north and south outside the ramparts are two rock basins apparently cut as wells or dew-ponds. In the ancient hill-fort at Canna (Hebrides) there is a similar basin, and a small one in Dundomhnuill at Oransay.

But here the basins are outside the walls; and it might be suggested that the reason was to prevent fouling in such a confined space as this tiny fort would give for its inhabitants. There would be no difficulty in getting outside the fort to draw water, because no attackers could sit round the top of the hill for long together under the shot of the besieged; any attack would be, from the nature of the ground, an attempt to storm it, not a close blockade.

This fortress is a small example of the type seen in Cumberland in Dunmallet near Pooley Bridge, and Castle-head at Peel Wyke, Bassenthwaite, and has some resemblance to Buckcastle in Shoulthwaite Gill and Reecastle near Lowdore as being a hill fort protected by ramparts and ditches.

ART. XI.—*Notes on the Chapelry of Helsington.* By the REV. J. WHITESIDE.

Read at Carlisle, April 18th, 1907.

THE one place of surpassing interest in this ecclesiastical parish is Sizergh Castle, which must be left alone as having been fully dealt with in our *Transactions* and elsewhere. I must also endeavour to avoid incidents too modern or more suitable for a local gazetteer, so that between the very old and the very new not much remains to be noted.

The chapel is dedicated to St. John, Apostle and Evangelist, but the deed of consecration* is not in the safe. It was founded in 1726 on a somewhat unfortunate site, except that it commands a magnificent panorama of sea, plain, moors and distant mountains. The probable explanation is that the idea of a separate chapel having originated with the earliest benefactor, John Jackson of Holeslack, he would consider his own convenience. No residence in the parish can be seen from the chapel, which stands on ground which was at the time of its erection a wild fell stretching from Lyth to Kendal—a distance of six miles. No fence surrounded the early fabric, so that it was said to possess "the largest churchyard in England." †

* This ceremony was not performed until 1745, by Bishop Peplowe of Chester. Several of our chapels have never been consecrated at all and their supposed dedications are fictitious.

† Nicolson and Burn, p. 103, refer to Jackson's gift "so as a chapelyard should be sufficiently fenced out," "all which was accordingly effected." If there ever was such a fence, it disappeared. The testimony of old inhabitants has no tradition of its existence. If there was a fence, one would expect the yard to be consecrated at the same time as the chapel. I believe that in remote places the fabric was sometimes on the open fell; at Swindale, for instance, and probably at Mardale also, there was not originally a fence on every side.

If a scheme were considered of re-arranging parochial boundaries, Helsington with its sections of population bordering on four other parishes might with advantage be extinguished. This opinion, however, may be regarded as a treasonable judgment upon my own parish.

The graveyard was consecrated by the Bishop of Chester on November 19th, 1822, in answer to a petition of the people, who desired it as "a great accommodation, especially in the winter seasons."* It is important to observe (inasmuch as the residents of that part of Brigsteer which is in the township of Levens appear to claim the right of burial at the ordinary fee), that the deed expressly limits the privilege to Helsington in Kendal. The deed was signed in the presence of John Hudson, vicar of Kendal; John Dowbiggin, deputy registrar, Lancaster; Joseph Fawcett, curate of Kendal; George Holden Johnson, schoolmaster of Levens; John Wilson, Christopher Garnett and William Ward, notary public, deputy registrar of the diocese of Chester.

The appearance of the chapel and yard is greatly disfigured by the adjoining school and offices which were actually built on the consecrated ground in 1858. But this was only in continuation of the previous policy, the ancient chapel and school having been under one roof, and the surrounding land used as the playground. After 1822 the scholars were supposed to be limited to the north side, but as a matter of fact bounds were not observed, and, as an old boy says, "we ran all over the place, setting cappers at anything we liked, and slurring (sliding) over the flat grave-stones (of two former incumbents) in winter, until Harris came and put on fresh restrictions and kept us in subjection." The yard is remarkable for the paucity of grave-stones, few of which have interesting

* As the soil is only a few inches deep, the graves are cut in the solid rock; a great hole is quarried and then a dry wall is built. For this reason no fixed sexton's fee is possible; the charge varies from 15/- to 20/-. The graves are often admired as a work of art and as "terble nice dry spots to lig in."

inscriptions. Only this, of Mary Garnett of Sizergh, who died in 1831 :—

> This lonely spot of ground contains
> The dust of Mary's last remains :
> Her deeds of charity and worth
> Will be recorded long on earth.

In the north-west corner are the graves of the Claughtons of Beathwaite Green, who are said to be relatives of a recent Bishop of St. Albans and Rochester.

The old chapel, which with the school, stable, peat-house and other offices was on the same foundations as the present fabric, was a very unpretentious building, with square windows and small panes, "the same as in cottage houses." Built on the separating wall between school and church was a neat square tower, with simple arch-holes, in which hung the bell. The interior was plainly furnished with three-decker and box pews, three of which appear to have been allotted to Holeslack, Low House and Boundary House; probably all were allotted. How this came about I cannot ascertain, but Miss Briggs of Boundary House is said to have "given £5 for a pew." Affectionate memories of the gallery linger in the minds of venerable parishioners. Those were the "good old days." The father of Anthony Wilson (whose family, of Low House, may be the oldest other than the Sizergh Stricklands in the parish) "raised the tunes" on a pitchpipe,* but a more important instrument of music was the bass fiddle, which "stood 3 feet 6 inches high," and was played by a quaint person named Crewdson, of Kendal, who made capital boots and bad poetry. His rhymes were rough doggerel stuff, principally directed against one of my predecessors, Harris "the reformer,"

* This pipe, much dilapidated and roughly repaired with cobbler's thread, is in the safe, but it is now incapable of raising a note. Where are all the pitchpipes gone? A Kirkbride rector gave his to the schoolmaster. This may have happened commonly.

for his innovations in the direction of reverence and for his building of the school which was reckoned unduly extravagant and ornate. The shoes he brought in a bag to service, leaving them in the porch and then going off before the sermon, or earlier, "if owt went wrang" and he "tyeuk t' pet," that he might "'liver them out" in Beathwaite Green.

The clerk (we no longer possess one, having abolished him as unnecessary) came forth from the three-decker to announce the metrical Psalms. Each verse was given out *ore rotundo* from the gallery, and then he returned to his box. One of these clerks, Joseph Pearson, was a most worthy man. His tombstone, erected after his death in 1861 in gratitude by Thomas Armstrong of Richmond in Surrey, records that he filled the offices of clerk and master for nearly forty years. Pearson, according to custom, hurried out of church first, and mounting a stone a few yards from the porch notified any sales, letting of work, etc. I am inclined to think, inasmuch as we are supposed to have degenerated, that attendance at church was largely affected by the prospect of such important announcements in days when there were few newspapers and no railways.

The original fabric remained with little alteration —beyond some extraordinary repairs, which cost £50, in 1852—until 1858, when a faculty was granted to the incumbent, to Miles Smithson and W. Dixon, wardens, and to John Garnett and William Ireland, to "restore" the church, when it assumed structurally its present appearance. The cost was £500, and a principal instigator of the work was the late William Henry Wakefield, who then resided at Prizet.

Further alterations at a cost of £184 were made in 1898 to make the interior more comely. But there is nothing worthy of notice except the oak credence, which has been cut down from the original Holy Table, and a painted east window, placed in 1898 by William Stavert

of Prizet in memory of his sister Elizabeth Vose of Liverpool.

The plate consists of:—(1) pewter cup with cover, inscribed "The gift of John Wilson, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Minister of this Chapel, 1779"; (2) pewter paten, inscribed on the back, "Helsington Chapel, 1824"; (3) silver chalice and paten, presented by Mary Ann and Catherine Fidler of Lane Head at Easter, 1904; (4) silver flagon presented by William Stavert of Prizet, in 1904, in memory of his wardenship of forty-two years; (5) a brass alms dish, "In memory of Mrs. Bourne* of Helsington Laithes *obit (sic)*, 4th January, 1852."

The registers are as follows:—(1) of marriages, from 1813 to 1834, 8 entries only; (2) of baptisms, from 1813 to 1907, 798 entries, one space now remaining; (3) of burials, from 1824 to 1865, 168 entries; (4) of marriages, from 1837 to date, 102 entries; (5) of burials, from 1865 to date, 162 entries. A very large number of the burials, more than one-third, are of non-parishioners. But we have now imposed a very necessary protective tariff.

The plate and papers are preserved in a strong safe† in the vestry, and as a further security against loss an inventory has been printed, which is checked at the annual vestry by a resolution passed in 1904. That we ran some risk before the purchase of a safe is shewn by the fact that in 1870 a meeting was called to consider how the expenses of a sacrilegious outrage (on the night of February 9th) were to be met, the church having been broken into and "the books heaped up in the aisle and burnt." The registers may have escaped through being at the parsonage. A similar offence was committed at Crosthwaite in Cumberland by the same culprits, who were apprehended.

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* A grave-stone records the burial of Jane, wife of Charles Bourne, who died on the above date, aged 73.

† The terrier of 1894 mentions "One Iron Safe"; this was gone in 1900.

The font is of the year 1858; its predecessor of 1726 is about to be taken from the parsonage to the chapel-yard, so much of it as remains; the bowl is gone.

The following is an incomplete list of incumbents:—1726, James Mattson; 1779-1782, John Wilson; 1791-1831, William Moore; 1831-1838, William Hutton; 1838-1850, James Muckalt; 1851-1859, Charles Butler Harris; 1859-1860, G. W. H. Tayler; 1861-1895, Thomas Whitwell Rogers; 1895-1900, Thomas Heelis; 1900, Joseph Whiteside.

Mr. Mattson, according to Nicolson and Burn, was instrumental in 1735 in considerably augmenting the value of the benefice. Mr. Wilson, a man of much learning, was subsequently vicar of Gainford, to which he was presented July 16th, 1782. Mr. Moore was previously incumbent of Killington. He was M.A. of Trinity, Cambridge. Mr. Hutton is said to have lived at Sizergh Fellside; the curates mostly had lived in Kirkland, Kendal. He was a grandson of Hutton of the "Beetham Repository," to which, having become vicar there in 1844, he "added much interesting matter during his incumbency of thirty-seven years" (to 1881). Mr. Muckalt, M.A., of Queen's, Oxford, built the parsonage in 1840 on a portion of Chambers tenement, and planted the fine avenue of trees, 200 yards long. He is described as a "girt powerful man," "terble nonsensical," who "always had a droll say for us lads when he met us." He is interred here by the side of Mr. Moore. Mr. Harris has been already alluded to as "the reformer," who had a large part in rebuilding the church, building the school, and enlarging the vicarage. He introduced many wise changes and incurred thereby the aforesaid fiddler's indignation. "Before he came only the clerk said 'Amen'; now us Sunday scholars clerked": "things had been as rough as they could be." Mr. Tayler was afterwards incumbent of Grayrigg, and later of Holy Trinity, Carlisle.

WINDOW AT BRIDGE HOUSE,
HELSINGTON. TO FACE P. 119.

The parish is not rich in antiquities, but a few deserve a brief notice. Bridge House (a corruption of Briggs' House) was burnt down on Easter Eve, 1906. This was the residence of Robert Briggs,* first recorder or steward of Kirkby Kendal (1575), by charter of Queen Elizabeth. In the house at its north end was a chapel, and therein a painted window with two lights, which was subsequently placed in the south end of the building. This was the only part that escaped destruction, except that some one thrust a ladder through one of the lights. The other which is exactly the same, I secured in time, and I produce a photograph taken from a traced copy.† The initials are of Robert Briggs and Ann his wife, who was a Sedgwick of Collin Field. The faded fragments represent the royal arms and motto. Another ancient piece of glass is in the staircase window at Stonebank Green. Miss Alice Wilson of Aynam Lodge, Kendal, has painted me a copy of it for the vestry. In the centre is a kingfisher on a shield; above it, over some scroll work, is another with a fish in its beak, and below is the motto "*Vigilat qui valet*"—"Keep your eyes open if you wish to succeed." At this place, which has since been greatly changed, lived in 1687 John Fisher, one of the magistrates to whom questions were addressed touching the Penal Laws and Test Acts.‡

At Helsington Laithes, or Helsington Hall, or Manor House, as it would more properly be called (the title of the buildings or of a demolished farm-house, of which there are traces and notices, having been transferred to the big house), the manorial courts were held, of which are several records at Levens. Captain Bagot tells me he has:—(1) Helsington Court Rolls from 1552; (2) old leases and bonds of Helsington Mills from 1566; (3) lease

* See *Boke of Records* of Kendal, p. 29 and p. 283.

† For this I am indebted to Mr. John Lightfoot of Oxford, a grandson of Canon Weston.

‡ See *Transactions*, O.S., iv., p. 368.

of Helsington Demesne by Lord Lumley to Bellingham, 8 Henry VIII. [1517]—*i.e.*, probably to Thomas, son of Alan who bought Helsington; (4) "the manor of Helsington, how conveyed and how holden"—36 Henry VIII. [1545]. At the south end is the ancient chapel, of whose fine pre-Reformation window I give a photograph; also in the drawing-room, in the centre of some tracery on the west wall, the initials and date

B
1 5 3 8
I A

Some argue that these are Bindloss initials. There is a little obscurity and uncertainty. Nicolson and Burn say—"till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when it [the manor] appears to have been in the possession of a family of the name of Bindlose." Alan Bellingham bought the manor house and land from the Bindloses, probably about 1487-9, and either this Alan or his son was granted the Lumley Fee about 1547. The house was probably restored or rebuilt by the new owner and the date may be the date of the work. The family occupied Helsington and Gaythorne as well as Levens, and we may suppose the smaller houses to have been inhabited by junior members. This is Captain Bagot's view, and it seems most reasonable. But the initials are more difficult than the date, supposing them to be of Bellingham. Alan's wife was Elizabeth Gilpin*; may the I represent a second wife, whose initial he placed before his own? Or, which is more likely, had he a son James, who resided here? Anyhow, I think it is clear the initials are not of Bindlose. The purchaser and restorer, rather than the seller, would be the person to make his mark.

Approached through a trap door in the floor of a closet is a small chamber which is suggestive of a "priest hole."

* Nicolson and Burn, i., p. 204.

CHAPEL WINDOW AT HELSINGTON LAITHES.

TO FACE P. 120.

There seems to have been no window or door through any wall—it may have been the upper portion of a well, or was used for a domestic purpose; still the "priest hole" is not at all impossible.

A "Catholic priest," which popularly denotes "Roman Catholic," is said to have resided at Lane Head, a few hundred yards above, and he would supply the duty at the chapel. But what authority have we for supposing that, where there was a chapel and a priest, it and he were necessarily non-Anglican?

At Barrow House in Brigsteer, the property of Kendal Grammar School, is a stone tablet over the entrance with this inscription :—

HASCE ÆDES
HOSPITIO DE SANDES
APUD KENDALENSES
DONO DEDIT
JOHANNES GIBSON
A. XTI. MDCCLII

IMPENSIS SVIS
REFICIENDAS CURAVIT
MARIA WILSON
MDCCCLXIII

LAUS DEO

At Plumtree House in Brigsteer, is a lead cistern, of a sort that used to be very common, 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, 3 feet 6 inches deep. It is inscribed

W
1772
M I

and was brought from High House, Helsington, by the Wilson family when they purchased this property. Another with the same initials, but dated 1767, is at Low House, where there is some old oak furniture contemporary

with the building. So also at Berry Holme, where resided in the early Wesleyan days Stephen Brunskill, a famous local preacher, who has recorded that the church-folk of Helsington fought with him like wild beasts at Ephesus. But he was himself a militant spirit, and we may divide the honours.

Many of those cisterns might have survived, had they not been so useful when melted and moulded into bullets of the size of a "stony" (marble) for shooting rooks. For in Brigsteer is an extensive rookery, and up to twenty years ago it was customary to shoot them with the cross-bow, which is described to me as being "very nice sport, with more art and less noise" than in the use of a rifle. Though several residents can shoot, none now does, because "nobody can fettle them up;" they are "varra kittle" and "git oot o' gear," especially in thundery weather. One of these bows made by Johnson of Manchester, can be seen at Joseph Robinson's, Brigsteer. Old-fashioned people despise shooting with a gun at rooks, but they are also timid. I handed an air-gun to an expert bowman that he might explain the structure and mechanism of a cross-bow, but he said—"Nay, I'll hev nowt to dyeu wid it; I'se fair flate o' them things."

Alas! the glories of Brigsteer melt away—not only the lead cisterns, hundredweights of which lie interred near the rookery, but the cock-fights also (there is a pit near the chapel), and the superstitions and the customs and the dialect and the peat industry. Whereas half a century ago some twenty-six carts would go to Kendal every day, selling from house to house at 2/6 to 3/- a cart, now only one goes occasionally, and the price is 7/6. Railways and canals have much to answer for! But the mosses are being levelled; only three houses in Helsington now possess any, viz., the Parsonage, Berry Holme and High House. In place of bogs and swamps, haunted by wild geese and ducks, and crossed in danger

by circuitous tracks, are now fertile fields and safe roads between Brigsteer and Lyth. You may no longer meet on the Kendal road cart after cart with curious old women smoking their short black pipes; fewer of the men are engaged in what was once as profitable a harvest as the corn; cottage after cottage falls into untenanted repair, the old-world "peat-reek" begins to cease to pervade the atmosphere of the valley, and the hearth fires that have burnt for forty years in tenements with cobbled floors will soon be unable to boast that they "go not out" from generation to generation.

ART. XII.—*Chantries in Kendal and Lonsdale Wards, 1546.*
By ROBERT J. WHITWELL.

Communicated at Kendal, July 11th, 1907.

THE following pages contain the heading and the latter part of the text of a return* made in 1546 by Robert Aldrich (bishop of Carlisle), Thomas Lord Wharton, Sir John Lowther, and Edward Edgore, and seem to need little annotation.

Some six years had elapsed since the greater monasteries had suffered the same fate as the lesser, and the patent rolls of the period are full of grants of monastic possessions and of licences to alienate lands already granted.

The lay appetite for church lands had grown by what it fed on, and it became necessary in 1545† to restrain laymen that "pretende to be donors foundors or patrons of . . . . colleges frechappelles chauntries hospitalles, fraternities brotherheddes, guyldes and stipendarie prestes, and divers other," who, "of their avarouse and covetouse myndes and of their owne auctoritie, without your graciouse licence have of late entred into the mansion houses mannors landes tenementes and other hereditamentes to the same colleges frechappelles chauntries [&c.] belonginge and apperteyninge and have expulsed the prestes wardeynes maisters ministers rulers governors and incumbentes of the same out and from the possession thereof," and, in short, appropriated them in fee. Other such properties had been sold or leased at a nominal rent, "by reason whereof diverse of the saide frechapelles chauntries hospitalles and other promocions abovesaide ben clerely dissolved extincted or determyned, contrarye

* *Rentals and Surveys*, Roll 846, in the Public Record Office.
† Statute, 37 Henry VIII., c. 4.

to the willes myndes intentes and purposes of the foundors donors or patrons of the same, and to the greate contempte of your Majestie and of your auctoritie roiall."

In view of these malversations, Henry's "most lovinge humble and obedient subjectes right well knowing and perceyvinge thexcedinge greate and inestimable charges costes and expences which your Majestie hathe had and susteyned and dayly doeth susteyne, as well for the mayntenaunce of theis present warres against the relmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, and for the preservacion and defence of us your saide subjectes againste the invasions and malice of your enemyes the Frenchmen and Scottes, who dayly do studdy devise and attempte to greive annoy and hurte your saide lovinge subjectes, as also for the mayntenaunce of your most roiall estate honor dignitye and estimacion, which all your saide lovinge subjectes of naturall duty ben bounde to conserve and increase by all suche wayes and meanes as they can devise; doe therefore, with our hole voice peticion and intercession most humblie beseche your Majestie that it may be enacted."

After this preamble—well worthy to be compared with many in which Thomas Cromwell had a hand in the days of his power—follows a lengthy statute, the substance of which was that all such colleges, &c., as had been dissolved between February 4th, 1535, and Christmas, 1545, should (so far as not already in the possession of the king or his grantees) be "in the very actuall and reall possession and seison of the Kinge our Soveraigne Lorde and of his heires and successours for ever," as fully as the same were in the said colleges, &c., or the patrons, donors, or founders.

And they were further to be taken into His Majesty's hands by commissioners (sec. 6), and thereafter (sec. 7) to be "in the order rule survey and governaunce of our Soveraigne Lorde the Kinges Court of Augmentacions of the Revenues of his Crowne."

I hope at some future time to give a transcript of the

corresponding portions of the chantry survey of Edward VI.'s commissioners (a much shorter document), when there may be an opportunity of some notes on the additions thus made to local history.

m. 1.

THE SURVEY OF ALL CHAUNTERIES HOSPITALLES COLLEGES Frechapelles Fraternities brotherhedes gyldes and Salaries of Stipendary prestes hauing perpetuitie for euer AND of all londes tenementes Possessions and revenues plate Jewels ornementes gooddes and Catalles of the same within the Counties of Cumbrelond and Westmerlond taken and maid by the reuerend father in god Roberte bushoppe of Carliolle Thomas lorde Whertone Sur Johne Lowther Knyghte and Edward Edgore esquyer Commyssioners in the moneths of May and June by Vertue of the King's maiestie Commyssione to them directed bering date at Westminster the xiiijth daie of Februarye in the xxxvij yere of the reinge of our Souerainge lorde HENRY the eighte* by the grace of god King of Ingland France and Irelond defendor of the Faithe. And in erthe of the Churches of Inglonde and Irelonde Supreme HEDE.

m. 4.

THE COUNTIE OF WESTMERLONDE.†

Chaunterie of William Middyltone in the parish Churche of Kyrbilonsdaile. Sur Roberte Dodgesone Incumbent

—Ferme of certayne londes and tenementes within Garsdale in the Countie of Yorke parcelle of the late monesterie of seynte Agathe besides Richemond nowe in the kinges maiestie handes And paid by the Receivour of the same londes yerlie iiijl. xiijs. iiijd.

Item one hous in Gryntone with a littelle garthinge by yere ... ... x d.

[In all] iiij li. xiiij s. ij d. wherof

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* 1546.

† Here are noted the endowments and chattels of the grammar schools of Brough under Stainmore and Appleby.

Reprises

Paid to the kinges maiestie yerlie out of the said londes ... ... viij d.

Et Remanet ... ...iiij li. xiij s. vj d.

Plate and ornamenttes perte[n]inge to the said Chaunterie in Kyrkbye lonsdaille

Furst one Chales valued... ... ... xl s.
One vestemente ... ... x s.
iij olde vestementes ... ... vj s. viij d.
ij alter clothes, ij Corporax ... ... v s.
A Sacringe belle and Crewet one bake [*sic*] tabernacle Towelle Chiste and j pax ... ... xiij s. iiij d.
[In all] lxxv s.

Chaunterie of Seynt Leonerde called the Spyttelle in Kyrkby lonsdaille. Sur Jefferey Baynbrig[ge] Incumbente

Furst one Messuage called the Spittelle contening xxvj acres of erable londe vj acres of medowe with certaine Waistes nowe in tenoure of George baynbrig painge yerfor yerlie at the Festes of Seynte Peter advincula and Candlemes ... lxx s. iiij d.
Item one Tenemente in tholdinge of Johne Greyne painge etc ... ... xviij s.
Item one parcelle of erable londe in tenour of James Huetsone And paeth yerlie at the said Festes ... iij s.
Item one parcelle of medowe grounde in the tenour of Xpofer Hardinge painge yerlie at the forsaid termes ... ... xij d.
Item one parcelle grounde in tholdinge of Richard newtone painge yerlie at the said Feastes ... vj d.
Item j parcelle of grounde in tenour of Richerd Godsawfe paynge yerlie yerfor at the said Festes ... vj d.
[In all] iiij li. xiij s. iiij d. wherof

Reprises

Paid oute of the same to the kinges maiestie for Tenementes ... ... ix s. iiij d.
And to one William bordaille yerlie ... ... iij d.
[In all] ix s. vij d.
And so Remayneth ... ... iiij li. iij s. ix d.

Plate and ornementes perteninge to the said Chaunterie in Kyrbylonsdale.

Fyrste a Chales gylte	xxix s.	viij d.
ij olde vestementes	v s.	
ij alter clothes		vj d.
ij Crewettes and one Sacrynge belle		iiij d.
One Towelle		ij d.
One yron candilstyke		iiij d.
j Corporax		iiij d.
j alterstone		vj d.
and one gretbelle	vj s.	viij d.
[In all] xliij s. vj d.		

m. 5.

Londes pertening to the Chaunterie of Seynt Xpofer in the parishe churche of Kyrkby Kendalle. Sur John Garnet Incumbente

Fyrste one Burgage set in Market place of Kyrkby Kendall in tenour of Thomas bullok George braykene and elsabeth moserghe widowe painge yerlie at the Festes of Martenmes and Whitsondaie	xxvj s.	viij d.
Item one Burgage in Striklondgate in Kendall in the occupacione of Roberte braithtwhaite painge yerlie	vj s.	viij d.
Item 1 burgage in Heighegate in Kyrkby Kendalle in tenour of Anne Colyne Widowe painge yerlie at the said Festes	x s.	
Item 1 burgage in Heghgate in Kirkby Kendall exchaunged with one Tenemente in Whinfell nowe in tenour of Henry byrse, etc.	xj s.	
Item Certayne erable londe in lankeshire called the Stuble in the Parishinge of Haltone in the tenour of Mr. Curwene paynge yerlie at the said Festes	xiij s.	iiij d.
[In all] lxvijs. viijd. whereof		

Reprises

Paid oute of the same for the Reparacions of burgages in the market place	vj s.	viij d.
Paid out of the same for Sutes Fines and Frerentes to the kinges maiestie		xvij d.

Paid oute of the same in Striklondgate for Sutes fynes and frerente to the lorde Chamberlane ... xx d.
Paid out of the burgages in Heighgate to lord of essex for Sutes Fines and Frerente ... ... iij s. iiij d.
[In all] xiijs. jd.
And so Remayneth ... ... liiij s. vij d.

Plate & ornementtes perteninge to the said Chaunterie of seynte Xpofer in Kyrkbye Kendall.

Fyrst a Chales of viij ovnces parcellgylte ... ... xxix s. iiij d.
A old Chesable ... ... v s.
One albe ... ... xij d.
One amess ... ... v d.
A Stole and Fannone one belle and one Crewet ... xij d.
One Sacring belle ... ... viij d.
A pax and corporax ... ... vj d.
A messe boke ... ... xvj d.
and one Towell ... ... iij d.
[In all] xxxixs. vjd.

Londes perteninge to a seruice of Seynte William in Kyrkby Kendalle Churche. Sur Edward Strykland Incumbente

Fyrst one hous with a garthe in Lankester towne in the tenour of John Standishe painge yer at the Festes of Mertynmas & Whitsondaie yerlie ... iiij s.
Item j Hous with a garthe in the towne of Lancastier in tenour of William Greyme paiable at the said festes ... ... xiij s.
Item j hous with a garthing in Lankester towne in tenour of Williams Cowper paing yerlie at the said termes ... ... xxj s.
Item j tenemente with certayne erable londe & medowe in Bare in the countie of Lancaster in tenour of Johne allian and payeth yerlie at the said termes ... ... xxj s.
Item j tenements with certayne erable londe & medowe yer in tenour of William Chaser and paiethe yerlie ... ... xxj s.

m. 5 dorso.

Item one Tenemente with certayne earable londe and medowe in Midletone in the Countie of Lanceaster in tenour of William bowthe paing yerlie therfor at the said termes ... ... xiiij s.
[In all] iiij li. xiiij s. wherof x

Reprises

Paid to John Standishe for gatheringe the Rentes abonesaid ... ... iiij s.
Item halfe pounde pepper to Mr. Lancaster by estimacion ... ... xiiij d.

[In all] v s. ij d.

And so Remayneth ... ... iiij li. viij s. x d.

Plate ornementtes Goodds and Cattalles pertening to the said Chaunterie of Seynt William in Kyrkby Kendalle

Fyrste one Chales weying viij ovunces (*sic*) vngylte at iij s. viiij d. le ovunce ... ... xxix s. iiij d.
A Chesable of Grene Sattane ... ... v s.
One Chesable of Red & yalowe dornex ... ... iiij d.
One Messebooke ... ... vj d.
and ij alterclothes ... ... ij d.

[In all] xxxv s. iiij d.

Seruice of Saynte Antonye within the Parishe churche of Kyrkby Kendall. Sur Robert byrse Incumbent

Fyrste one Tenemente and certayne londe and medowe lyinge in Nettesclake (*sic*) within the hamlote of Stayntone in tenour of Johne Fisher painge at saynt andrewe daie and saynte James yerlie by evyne porciones ... ... ix s. iiij d.
Item Roland Cowherde Holdethe one Tenemente in Stayntone in Fornes paing yerlie yerfor ... iij s. vj d.
Item the wife of Roberte Geldarde holdethe one Tenement in the said Nettelsclake painge yerlie yerfor ... ... iij s. iiij d.
Item Richard Geldarde holdeth a tenemente in lyke maner ther And paeth at the said Festes ... iij s. iiij d.
Item John Gelderd Holdethe one Tenemente in lyke maner ther And payethe at the said Festes ... iij s. iiij d.
Item one Tenemente with certayne earable londe and medowe lyinge in Wrynghousis within the parishe of Kirkby in Fornes in tenour of Miles Lancaster and Nichels [?] Shipperde painge at the said termes yerlie ... ... xj s. viij d.
Item one Burgage House in Daltone in Fornes Copy Holde londe in tenour of Richard ynman paynge yerlie ... ... iiij s.

Item one burgage in Holuerstone in fornes in tenour of the Wife of Richerd Foxe painge yerlie ... ix s.
Item one burgage in tenour of John Corker yer painge ij s.
Item one Kylne Hous in tenour of Antony Cowper yer payng yerlie at the said Festes ... ... vj s. viij d.
Item one burgage in Kyrklonde in Kendalle in tenour of William noble And paithe at mertynmes and Whitsondaie yerlie ... ... vj s. viij d.
Item one Tenemente with certayne londe and medowe lyinge in longscleddalle in Westemerlonde painge yerlie yerfor ... ... xvj s.

[In all] xxviij s. x d. whereof

Reprises

Fyrst one Tenement of Rolande Cowherde witholdene frome the Incumbente by Sur Johne Huddilstone knyghte by what tytle is not knowen ... ... iij s. vj d.
To Alene Fysher for Receyvinge of the rentes and brynginge them to Kendall ... ... ij s.
Item Sutes and Fynes for awnsweringe at the kinges Courtes in Dalston and Vluerstone ... ... ij s. vj d.
Item for Freferme at Vluerstone and Kendall ... xvj d.

[In all] ix s. iiij d.

And so remayneth ... ... lxix s. vj d.

Plate and ornamenttes perteninge to the said Seruice of Saynte Antonye

Fyrste one Chales parcell gylte weyng viij ovunces at iij s. viij d. the ovnce ... ... xxix s. iiij d.
A Chesable with albe and oyer thereto ... ... iiij s.
ij oyer Chesables with albes and oyer thereto apperte[n]ing ... ... iij s.
One Messalle ... ... xvj d.
And one Couerynge for the aulter ... ... iiij d.

[In all] xxxviij s.

The Gylde of the Trenitie within Kendall Churche. Sur Roberte Wilsone Incumbente yer.

Fyrste one burgage with a garthe in kyrklonde in Kendalle in tenour of Richerd Wilsone painge yerlie at Mertynmes and Whitsondaie yerlie ... xviij s.

Item a Chamber ther Copyholde londe in tenour of parsone layborne painge yerlie at the said Festes vj s. viij d.
Item one Burgage yer in tenour of Wife of Roberte Gelderd painge yerfor yerlie at the said Festes iiij s.
Item one burgage in tenour of the Wife of Thomas Covper painge ... ... iij s. iiij d.
Item j burgage in tenour of William Walker painge yerlie ... ... iij s. iiij d.
Item j Burgage in Straymongate in Kendalle in tenor of Miles Chaumber with a garth painge yerlie at the saide* ... ... xij s. viij d.

[In all] xlviij s. whereof

Reprises

Paid for Frerente Sutes and Services to the kinges maiestie yerlie ... ... vj s.
And so remaynethe ... ... xlij s.

Plate ornementes gooddes nor Cattalles perte[n]inge to the said Gylde ar none.

Service of the Foundacione of Thomas Ros Knyghte in the Churche of Kendalle. Sur alene Shepherd Incumbent

Fyrste one Burgage with a garthe in Kendalle Towne in tenour of Robert bek painge yerlie at Mertynmes and Whitsondaie ... ... x s.
Item j burgage with appurtenaunce ther in tenour of Steuene Sadler painge yerlie at the said termes xvj s.
Item j burgage with appurtenaunce yer in tenour of Niche[l]as Carehus paynge at the forsaid termes xxij s.
Item j burgage with appurtenaunce yer in tenour of Williame Pepper paynge yerfor yerlye ... xiij s. iiij d.
Item j burgage with appurtenaunce ther in tenour of Johne Andrew painge yerlye at the said Festes xxvj s. viij d.

m. 6.

Item one Burgage ther in tenour of Roberte Broune with vj acres of earable londe painge yerlie at the said festes ... ... xxviij s.
Item iij acres of londe in Mynsertefelde† besides Kendalle in tenor of Nicoles Tunstalle painge yerlie yerfor ... ... x s.

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* "Feastes" omitted.
† This word may be "Mynferlefelde."

Item ij acres of londe yer in tenour of Johne Willsone painge yerlie at the said termes ... ... ix s. ij d.
Item j acre of londe yer in tenour of Roberte Carehous painge ... ... iij s. iiij d.
Item ij acres di. londe yer in tenor of myles Gennynge paing ... ... viij s. iiij d.
Item j burgage with a garthe in Kyrklonde in Kendalle copyholde londe in tenour of Alyne Sheperde Incumbente of the yerlie value to let to Rente ... viij s.

[In all] vij li. xiiij s. x d. whereof

Reprises

Fyrste paid to the kinges maiestie for feferme for the Copyholde ... ... xvij d.
For Sutes and Fynes to the in barone Courtes ... xviij d.
For Fre Rente to the kinges maiestie and to therle of essex ... ... xvj d.

[In all] iiij s. iij d.

And so Remaynethe ... ... vij l. x s. vij d.

Plate and Ornamenttes perteninge to the said chaunterie of Thomas ros Knyghte

Fyrste one Challes weinge vj ovunces at iij s. viij d. le Ovunce ... ... xxij s.
iiij Chesables ij albes and ij Corporax ... ... xiij s. iiij d.
ij Hynginges to thalter ... ... xiij s. iiij d.
ij Alter clothes ... ... xx d.
ij Candelstykes and one bell ... ... xij d.
One Messalle ... ... xij d.

[In all] lij s. iiij d.

Chaunterie of tholde warke called saynte Marye within the parishe Churche of Kendalle

Adam Sheperde Incumbente ther dothe Receive lxvj s. viij d. for His wages of mr. Whalley the Kinges Heighnes Receivour of the Suppressed londes in yorkshire at two termes in the yere as to saye at Mertynmes and Whitsondaie equallye lxvj s. viij d.

Plate and Ornamenttes pertenynge to the said Chaunterye

Fyrste one Chesable of olde blewe Chamlet with a albe	xij d.
One alter Clothe	j d.
ij Corporax	viij d.
ij littelle Candilstykes	iiij d.
A nolde messe booke	iij d.

[In all] ij s. v d.

Memorandum there is a Chales parcelle Gylte weinge x ovunces at iij s. viij d. le ovnce whiche Chales mr. Johne Redman gent. dothe clame to be his owne at whose handes the said Incumbente did receive the same chales.

Service of the Chapelle of the Inges in the parishe of Kendalle.
Sur James Inman Incumbente

Two Tenementes in Conyngsborghe and Mexburghe in the countie of yorke by estimacione C acres of erable londe with certayne medowe and pasture in the occupacione of the late wyfe of Johne Glasedaille painge yerlie at Mertenmes and Whitsondaie by evyne porcions	iiij l. ij s. viij d. wherof

Reprises

Paid to the kinges Heighnes officers for Feferme yerlie	xvj s.
And so Remaynethe Clere	lxvj s. viij d.

Jewels plate ornamentes goodes or Cattalles perte[n]ing to the said seruice of the Chappelle of the Inges ar none. Whiche Chapelle is distant frome the parishe churche of Kendalle fyve myles.

Wynondermer

Memorandum that Adam Curas persone of Wynondermer Miles Dycsone George broune and Williame Richerdsone Churchewardens of the same SAITHE. Ther is a Fre Chapelle within the parishinge of Wynondermer called our ladie Chapelle of tholme distante frome the said parishe Churche Halfe a myle And they saie that Sir William Mountforthe is Clerke or persone of the same and hathe to his wages vj l. xiij s. iiij d. paid him yerlie by thandes

of Xpofer Philypsone Receivour of the kinges maiestie rentes of Wynondermer And forther they saye there are two tenementes belonginge to the said Chapelle of viij s. ferme by yere in tenour of Rolande Dicsone and Thomas Dicsone.

Hauershame

Memorandum Edwyne Sandes vicare of Hauershame James Halle Johne Wilsone Richerd Atkynson and Water (*sic*) Prestone Churche wardens fyndethe yat ther is a Chaunterie in the parishe Churche of Heuershame foundet by one Myles bryges of Crostwhaite within the said parishe decessed whiche did gyfe a hundrethe pounde to purchase a Chaunterie to fynde a preiste to praye for His Sowle and his elders and to helpe to maynteyne the service of God as apperythe by will of the said Myles briges the Copie whereof is lyuerid and a Copie of a deed conserninge the same And allso the said Myles bryges dyd gyfe xiij li. vi s. viij d. more to the said Chaunterie to mende it withalle And to caus a obbet to be done yerlie for His soule.

NOTA Fyve merkes in tenour of Richerd Tolley in yorkshire besydes Ledes at a place called Glede

Kendalle.

Memorandum yat the Churchewardens of Kendalle presentethe yat ther was a Foundacione of a hous and certayn londe called Spyttelle of the yerlie value of xj li. x s. iij d. as appereth by the rentall yerof maid

Robert Karliolen
Thomas Whartton
John Lowther
Edwarde Edgore

ART. XIII.—*Fullers and Freeholders of the Parish of Grasmere.* By MISS M. L. ARMITT.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

I.—THE MILLS.

WHEN the first tourists penetrated the Lake District in the late eighteenth century, by means of the newly-made turnpike road, they regarded it as recently discovered country. They came in search of the picturesque, armed with a landscape mirror and a guide-book that directed them to the "stations" or views where the instrument might be best used; and they alternately shuddered and glowed over the prospect unfolded in precipice, water-fall and lake. Here, it seemed to them, nature ruled supreme; while only the lowly cot of herdsman or shepherd relieved occasionally the desolate mountain solitude. Of the life within the vales, then or in former times, they knew and suspected nothing; and little guessed the chapter of home trades and industries that had once given animation to the landscape and wealth to a thrifty and prosperous folk. The flare of the furnaces that of old lit up the forests, as the ironworkers smelted the ore in their primitive hearths; the hum of the housewife's wheel within the numerous cottages, the click of the weaver's loom, the creak of the great water wheel where it slowly revolved under the flow of beck or sike for the walk-mill, the spread of the home-spun cloth stretched on the tenters in the fields, were beyond the wildest dreams of their very fervid imaginations.*

* One of the first of them was in time to see this striking sight in Kendal itself, and spoke of it in his inimitable way. "I entered Kendal almost in the dark, and could distinguish only a shadow of the castle on a hill, and tenter-grounds, spread far and wide round the town." Gray's *Letter from the Lakes.*

It was left to the antiquary to reconstruct the past; to find the buried hearths and the cinder-heaps that nature had almost won back to herself; to trace the dry sluices in deep woods and lonely places through which the mill-race once flowed; to learn from place-name the site of vanished forge or of ground where cloth was stretched; and to confirm by search in early documents the tale told by the scars still carried on the earth's surface.*

Both the smelting of iron and the fulling of cloth were in former times extensively carried on in those valleys of Lakeland that drain their water into the great Bay of Morecambe. But the two industries did not apparently intermingle. A line which coincided with the political line of boundary, running by the lake of Windermere up the Brathay and Little Langdale beck to the top of Wrynose Pass, appears to have divided the two. On the one side Lancashire, with Ulverston and Dalton as centres, threw itself into the iron trade which early occupied those places; and the ore found so abundantly in their neighbourhood was carried considerable distances by pack-horses, for smelting in the forest. On the other side, Westmorland devoted itself to the trade in woollen cloths, which from a time earlier than is generally stated, engrossed the energies of the chief town, Kendal, as well as the lands round about. On this line of boundary, the folk may be said to have stood back to back, looking two ways, east and west. And to this day the old Windermere fishermen and boatmen will speak in a remote and guarded fashion of the land behind the opposite shore, by the name of Furness Fells.

The start of Kendal's trade in cloth is uncertain, but by Tudor times the town was supplying the ordinary citizen of London with stuff for his work-a-day doublet; and Kendal cloth and Kendal green (a very successful dye

* See reports on Furness Bloomeries, by Messrs. W. G. Collingwood and H. S. Cowper. These *Transactions*, vol. xv.

produced there) were familiar in the wool market. The canny Westmorland man had discovered the value of his hardy sheep, that could roam on limitless mountain pastures almost free; for from their fleece he could make up a cloth, durable if rough, that (aided by his own thrifty, honest ways of living and of dealing), he was able to put cheap upon the market, and so do a wider business among the commonality than the more accomplished weaver could with his fine fabrics, which were bought only by the nobles. There is no proof that John Kemp, who in 1331 came over from Flanders with apprentices and servants to pursue his improved art of weaving under letters of protection from Edward III. settled in Kendal*; nor is he likely to have pushed so far from that eastern coast which was in close shipping and trading connection with the Netherlands. But other immigrants followed him, spreading and settling further inland, and it is possible that some Flemish weaver did penetrate as far as our county and teach to Westmorland folk the improved methods of his country. At any rate, Kendal cloth is named in enactments of the close of the fourteenth century†, and the increase of the trade produced, as time went on, an ever widening circle of home productions round the town, which penetrated the far recesses of the Rothay and the Brathay, and planted upon barren fells prosperous homesteads, the seats of tradesmen and of freeholders.

It is the purpose of this paper to trace, in such fragmentary fashion as a few unpublished records permit, the growth of this trade within the parish of Grasmere, more especially as it relates to the family of Benson and to the freeholds acquired by them and by the Brathwaites.

The fulling-mill, or walk-mill, as it was here called, was in Norman times a usual adjunct to the manor. It was the property of the lord, like the corn-mill, and to it the folk carried the rough cloth they spun and wove for their

* See Cunningham's *Alien Immigrants*.
† Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal*.

own wear, in order to have it dressed. One such mill seems to have supplied the needs of this remote section of the Barony of Kendal down to 1335. This was situated at Grasmere, where also stood the immemorial church, serving the three townships that formed the parish, viz., Grasmere, Langdale, and Loughrigg and "beneath moss,"—an expression which covered Rydal and the half of Ambleside. This mill is mentioned in the Inquisitions of William de Lindesey, 1283; of Ingelram de Gynes, 1324, (when it brought in 6s. 8d. to the lord); and of Christiana his widow in 1355. It was seemingly found up to that date sufficient for the cloth produced and worn in the whole of the parish.

The first additional mill of which we have evidence was planted in Loughrigg, where the homesteads are scattered, and the soil rocky and thin. We learn this from a rental of the Richmond fee, belonging to the end of the fourteenth century, which exists at Levens. The document shows how the circle of the fulling industry was widening from Kendal; through Undermillbeck and Applethwaite, it had spread to Troutbeck, where already at that date three walk-mills were at work, paying severally 3s. 4d., 15s. 9d., and 15s. to the lord, and held each by two or three men in partnership, a fact that seems to bespeak their commercial value. The customary Grasmere mill was worked at that time by one Rad. de Grenerige, who paid a rent of one mark, 13s. 4d., as against the half mark of 1324. And the new fulling-mill for Loughrigg, mentioned for the first time, was worked by one John Walker, who paid a quarter mark, or 3s. 4d. for rent; and who probably acquired his surname from his trade.

This small beginning of what probably denoted the rise of a cloth trade within the parish, was rapidly followed up; and within the next fifty years, as a document of 1453 shows,* an additional mill was set up in

* Ministers Account, Bdle. 644, No. 10444, Public Record Office.

Grasmere, paying 1s. 8d., another in Ambleside (stated to have been constructed anew) paying 1s. 1½d., and two in Langdale, paying 2s. 2½d.; making already a total with the Loughrigg one, of six mills in the parish. This extraordinary increase must be ascribed, not alone to the increased demand for Kendal cloth, but to the commercial spirit of the lord of the manor. The family of Parr had long held one half the barony of Kendal, including the castle of Kendal and half the town, and for their zeal in fighting during the Wars of the Roses on the Yorkist side, which had few adherents among the knights of Westmorland and the north, they were rewarded by Edward IV., when he came to the throne, with the other half of the barony; the heirs of the lord, the Duke of Somerset, being passed over on his death in 1444, in favour of Sir William Parr and his heirs, with reversion to his brother Sir Thomas Parr. This change from a distant and either noble or royal lord to a resident one of practical ability, had a marked effect upon those portions of our parish which were affected by it, as is shown by the rental, preserved at Sizergh, of the year 1493-4, which was made up after Henry VII. had gained the crown, and recovered for his mother (the daughter of the Duke) her inheritance in the barony. This rental accounts for—besides the walk-mill in Loughrigg paying a quarter-mark—three in Grasmere, three in Langdale, and three in Ambleside, making now a total of ten mills within those portions of the parish which belonged to the Richmond fee alone. It expressly states too that the third mill in each township was a new one, and (in the case of Grasmere and Ambleside) constructed in the time when Sir William Parr had been holder of the lordship. These new mills moreover seem to have been let out on a fresh principle, for it is stated that they are demised by the year to their various holders, John Hawkerigge for Grasmere, Robert Wylkynson and his "fellows" for Langdale, and Thomas Robynson Jacson for Ambleside, at a rent of 20d. or a quarter mark for the year.

The next document to be quoted, one of 21-22 Henry VII. (1506-7), has been lately looked up in the Record Office.* The accounts concerning the mills are less full, but we gain one or two interesting facts from them. For instance, in a statement that a walk-mill lately set up under the chapel of Troutbeck has been pulled down by the officers of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, lest damage should be caused by it to the fish breeding in Windermere, we have the first record hitherto found of that chapel, though it doubtless existed at a much earlier date. The three Ambleside mills were now all paying a quarter mark; they were worked severally by Thomas Brathwayte, by three members of the family Jackson, and by John and Gilbert Brathwayte. For Loughrigg the grave or bailiff accounts for—besides the tenants' rents, with improvements and enclosures that denote prosperity —the sum of 2s., received from some one whose name is left blank, for two walk-mills newly built there.

This is the first rental—so far found—in which occurs the name of a family destined to play a great part in the milling industry of the three townships, and to increase not only in wealth, but in number to an extraordinary extent. Three-quarters of a century barely elapse before they are found occupying estates as customary tenants on almost every stream in the district outside Ambleside capable of turning a mill, and possessed of valuable freeholds; while the church register from its commencement in 1571 to the middle of the seventeenth century is crowded with the baptism of their children, their marriages and burials, to the utter confusion of the genealogist.

The first Benson, indeed, of whom we have found record in the parish is John, who acted as reeve or grave of Grasmere in the years 1485-6, and again in 1489-90. In the nineteenth year of Edward IV.—that is, in 1480—

* Ministers' Accounts, Henry VII., 877.

he purchased a tenement in Grasmere from one John Hunter, called Banerig or Baynrig.* The purchase is a significant one. Bainrigg is an estate lying between Grasmere and Rydal lakes, the river hemming it in below, and the rocky top of Whitemoss (common land of Grasmere township) above. It was one of the few freeholds in the barony of Kendal, and the quaint admittance of the holder at a later time to the court of Sir James Bellingham (who possessed the Lumley fee in the reign of James I.), recites the dignity of its tenure :—†

Bainriggs. Manorium de Staueley; John Fleming, Esqre holdethe off Sir Ja Bellingham knight off his manor off Staueley by doinge suite off Court yeerly, and paying yeerly one pound off Comyn, or two pence in monye, those Tenne Acres off Land or thereaboutes lying and being in Gresmire, nye unto or adioyning unto gresmire Tarne And holdeth ye premisses by an Ancyent Charter; And it is called Baineriggs; Late in ye Tenure of Robt Bainrigge.

The tradition of its status, and of its former possessors having left their name to it, is repeated in writing of the eighteenth century.‡ It appears as a nameless freehold at the close of the fourteenth century in rentals of both the Lindesey and the Lumley fees, and would seem therefore to have been divided at the great parting of the barony in 1246 between William de Lancaster's heirs. The Lindesey one says " Henry de Banrige holds of the lord a tenement in Gresmyer by fealty and half a pound of cumin or 2d." The Lumley (1375) heads the men of " Gresmer " with Richard de Baynbrig, who "holds one tenement, it renders per annum 30s. 6d. and one pound of cumin." In this and a more fragmentary roll Richard's name is further spelt Baynbriget and Baynerigh.§ By 1480 however when John Benson

* Rydal Hall MSS. Sir D. Fleming's list of his writings.

† From a copy procured by Sir D. Fleming.

‡ Rydal Hall MSS. Statement of William Scott, who held it at that time as customary land from the manor of Rydal. The family of de Baynbrig or Banrig may have belonged originally to Bainbryg in Yorkshire. The name came to be not uncommon as a surname.

‡ These rentals are at Levens Hall.

purchased it (or part of it), it was no longer in possession of the de Bainbrigg or de Bainrigg family; and it may well have been he who constructed the new mill there on the Rothay, of which we first hear in 1493. But he was not then working it; and a deed at Rydal, in which he is called John senior, shows that he parted with the estate (or part of it) to John Fleming, lord of Rydal, in the year 1487. Some links in our chain of evidence are wanting; for Bainrigg is again to be found in possession of a Benson in 1631 and 1633.

Shortly after John Benson's appearance as a purchaser of freehold in Grasmere, several members of the family are shown to be working out improvements in Langdale. That township indeed was astir; for the document of 1506-7 accounts for several houses newly built, and for the enclosure of three intakes containing three roods from the lady of the manor's waste by one Thomas Grygge; as well as, among the "Rents of divers Intakkes, with 12d. of the rent of John Benson, William Benson, and Robert Benson for one intake newly enclosed lying at the foot of Langden, containing 5½ acres by estimation . . . . and 1d. for the rent of John Benson for one intake containing by estimation — acres yearly."

Now it is difficult not to associate these enclosures of the waste fell-land with the business of the walk-mill. The stretching and drying of the cloth upon tenters could be done on barren, rocky ground, worthless for agriculture; and the Old Mill Lands of Ambleside, utilized for that purpose, were full of knolls and hummocks of rock. Enterprising fullers, bent on new ventures, would find in our mountain valleys not only an abundant water power for their mills, but cheap land to be had for their drying grounds; and these may have been the reasons for their rapid invasion of them for their cloth trade. Later on, in 1593, a Langdale walk-mill is found to be owned by the Grigg family, and several, as we shall see, by Bensons. A partnership of three men, indeed, implies considerable enterprise and resultant trade.

In little over half a century, when our next evidence is dated, the Benson clan is found to be already in possession of wealth in money and in land, and to have allied itself by marriage with various prominent and wealthy families in the neighbourhood of Kendal. Outside our bounds, William the tradesmen of that town is shown by his will, dated 1568,* to have possessed 104½ oz. of silver plate; while his stock-in-trade included wool and yarn, "metes and measures," and "ashe stangs"—perhaps the tenters or stretching poles for the cloth. Some of the debts owing to him are set down at £145 13s. 3d. Thomas Benson, "gentleman," of Skalthwaitrigge, was able to bequeath in 1610 a sum of money for the use of poor tradesmen of Kendal; and we hear of a William, also gentleman, from whom burgage rents in that town were bought.† Charles Benson of Skelwith, described as "merchant," was investing capital in 1570 by buying a moiety of the advowson of Windermere from Robert Bindlose of Helsington by Kendal‡—the said Robert being likewise "merchant," who not only founded a family in his son "Sir" Robert of Borwick Hall, but acquired lands with which he dowered his daughters.

The will of John Benson, dated 1562 and 1563§, proves the position and importance already attained at that date by the family within the limits of our parish. "Whereas," John declares in the document, which describes him as of Langdale, "I am sated in my demesne as of fee of and in the manor and lordshipe of baybrowne," and as he possesses—the will goes on to say—various other lands and farmholds in Langdale by tenant right, he desires these with all his goods and chattels to be held in trust for his adopted son John, son of his cousin George, until John

* *Wills and Inventories of the Archdeaconry of Richmondshire.* Surtees Society.

† *The Boke off Recorde of Kirkby Kendal.* This gives for the years 1581-2 four shearmen, freemen of the town, of the name of Benson.

‡ Communicated by Mr. G. Browne.

§ Rydal Hall MSS.

shall come of age. Until that time his brother Barnard, the administrator, is to have entire control of the property and the receipts from it except one-third, which is to be reserved for the use of John during his minority. Should John die, Barnard and his heirs are to inherit the land, provided they pay the testator's four daughters for it at the rate of twenty-four years' purchase. The daughters otherwise are to be content with a portion of £13 6s. 8d. (20 marks) each for their children, and if they trouble his executors in the matter, this (comparatively) small legacy even is to be withheld from them. A codicil of the succeeding year, which describes the testator as of "micklelangdaile" and which embodies his dying words, appoints Charles Benson and Thomas Benson as administrators in the place of his brother Barnard, who is already dead. The will makes many bequests, and is evidently that of a wealthy freeholder, the head of his clan, who is determined upon male heirs. He desires to be buried in the choir of Grasmere Church, as near to his wife as conveniently may be. The document enumerates, among the customary tenants of his freehold bearing his own name, John elder of Elterwater, John younger of the same, Michael elder, Michael younger, Edward, Oliver, and Thomas; beside his heir John, his executor Charles and his brothers Thomas and Barnard, and "Sir" Thomas, the curate, who seems to have acted as the scribe—making at least ten householders of the name, almost all of them customary landholders in Langdale.

There is no mention in the will of trade in wool or cloth by which this valuable freehold of Baisbrowne had doubtless been acquired. But of the next purchase of freehold by the family we possess more particulars, which show their commercial status. In 1575 three Bensons bought conjointly from William Fleming, Esq., of Coniston and Rydal, the lordship of all his lands in Loughrigg, belonging to the manor of Rydal, which comprised more than half that section of the township. These three—

Michael, Edward, and Barnard—partners in trade probably as in purchase, are described in the document* as clothiers. Now the clothier in the general sense was a dealer in cloth who bought from the home weaver, collecting the stuff to sell again in large quantities. He was early the subject of an Act of Parliament, for he had become in many cases the oppressor of the weaver, forcing down the prices of production, and sometimes even possessing the looms, which he hired out at an exorbitant price to workmen, who were forced to sell their work to him at his own quotation. A law therefore forbade his owning more than one loom. In Yorkshire, however, the term clothier is said to have been applied to the fuller or dresser of cloth, and it may have been so used in this district. The enactments concerning the cloth trade issued by the town of Kendal use the word "shearman," as covering the fuller, the dresser, and the dyer.†

This firm of Bensons may well have united all the three branches of trade, and have bought the cloth straight from the home weavers (thus saving these the long transit of their goods to the Kendal market over a very bad road), and have fulled and dyed it at their own mills.

With capital at their command and numerous mills, and a large relationship that formed something like a corporation or guild, there could be no difficulty in carrying the enterprise through to the end; and it is quite possible that their gangs of pack-horses conveyed the rolls of stuff straight to London, there to be sold in the open market.‡ They would thus be clothiers in the largest sense.

The deed in question shows how strong numerically the family was in Loughrigg, as well as in Langdale and

* It is a copy of the original made by John Banks in 1660, and is at Rydal Hall.

† See *Boke off Recorde*, pp. 142, 145 and 146.

‡ In connection with the transit of cloth from the north, it is interesting to recall the tradition of the origin of the great fair of Stourbridge. A Kendal merchant, it is said, getting his cloth wet by the way, decided to sell it on the spot for what it would fetch. He did a better business than in London, and next year returned—and so started the fair.

Elterwater. Fourteen houses or farmholds were included in this purchase of freehold, and no fewer than eight of these were in the customary holding of Bensons. Elizabeth, widow of Barnard, held a large one at the Fould of the high customary rent of 13s. 9d., besides a small one of 6d. rent. Another at the Fould (rent, 4s. 4d.) was held by Agnes, widow of Robert; and a third there (rent, 3s. 5d.) by a third widow Mabell, relict of Thomas. Of the three purchasers Michael himself owned Coat How, which had hitherto paid a lord's rent of 5s. 9d.; Barnard owned Miller Bridge (rent, 9s. 0d.) and Cockstone (rent, 2s. 4d.); while Edward, who had hitherto possessed no holding in his own name, and was doubtless a son of one of the widows, took as his share of the purchase the freehold of a large holding not named (rent, 15s. 4d.), "now and late" in the possession of Mabel, widow, and of John.

The lordship of the remaining houses fell to Michael and Barnard, each of course securing his own special property in freehold; while Michael took the lion's share in nine other holdings, including the Fould, which was to remain a freehold in the hands of one branch of the family for long.

But before tracing more particularly the history of the freeholds in the parish, three of which accrued from this purchase and maintained their standing—namely, Coat How, Fould, and Miller Bridge—it may be well to continue the numerical record of the family in other quarters of the parish and the mills they possessed, as far as these can be gleaned from casual documents and parish registers.

The tale of the Langdale Bensons is not complete with those in the manor of Baisbrowne. There were paying to the Marquis fee in that township in 1591 or 1593*

* I have seen two MS. copies of the inquisition held at Kendal to inquire into the lands held by the last of the Parrs (who was Marquis of Northampton), and they give different dates.

Solomon, whose important holding paid a lord's rent of 11s. 2d.; Robert, rent 2s. 6d.; and William, 1s. 4d.; while an Edward paid 3d. for a small tenement. Now three of these—Solomon, Robert, and William—as well as a widow of one Michael Benson, paid separate rents "for Milne Farme" (severally 2s. 3d., 6d., 3d., and 5d.), showing that then or recently four mills were worked by the family in that fee, beside another by George Grigg. We know from documents that Solomon was seated at Thrang. William is probably he who is described in the register of 1581 as "of Langdale," and "of Walthait" in 1591—Walthwaite being a substantial holding situate on Megs Gill near the chapel. William "de walthat" (1612) was succeeded by George (1625) and by William, contemporaneous with whom in 1655 was John of Walthwaite, so that the mill (supposing it to have been there) may have been worked, as so frequently happened, by partners. A Michael "of Langden" appears in the register in 1579 and 1583, and Robert "of Langden" in 1587. One of them possibly had the mill on the stream that flows from Stickle Tarn, which gained for it and the adjacent homestead the name of Millbeck. These by no means exhaust the Bensons of Langdale who appear in the register; but only a John need be mentioned (1618 and 1622), who is described as of Wodhead in Langdale, and an Edward "of Colleth," who was buried in 1578.

A mill-sluice is plainly to be seen in the woods above Colwith and Hacket Forge, which may have turned a wheel besides the furnace one. The Elterwater corn-mill was perhaps served by the sike that trickles past the hall; and in connection with the smallness of the streams sometimes associated with a mill, it must be remembered that the reservoirs of bog and moss and tarn from which they took their rise were much larger then than now. At Skelwith Bridge, where a wheel still works the saw-mill, there must have been from early times a mill. Indeed, two mills—corn and bark—are remembered, which were

worked (like the twin Ambleside ones) by one current. Instead, however, of this being conducted from one to another by a wooden trough, two wheels were set closely side by side within it, and these propelled a mill situated on either bank. A man still living remembers having crept in between these wheels to oil the gear. Later the position of the mills was changed, and a pool—only recently filled up—lay between the two as a reservoir of supply. Jeremiah Coward of Skelwith Bridge, whose High and Low Bobbin Mills are set down in the township valuation book of 1843 as worth £30 and £20, and his corn-mill at £30 (making three!) is said to have constructed the weir above the fall, and thereby involved himself in a law-suit with the owner of the opposite bank.

Now bark-mills are known in many cases to have taken the place of derelict walk-mills, and this may have been the case at Skelwith Bridge. We know of no Benson however having occupied the premises, unless Charles, merchant, "of Skelwith" did. In the middle of the seventeenth century a certain Reginald Holme was the miller there, a man sufficiently marked for mention, even if he were not a fuller. He united, strangely enough, a turbulent spirit with the Quaker tenets. Two odd entries in Sir Daniel Fleming's Account Book refer to him.

January 29, 16$\frac{8}{9}$. Spent in ale with my cosen Tho. & Rob. Brathwait, Mr Nicoldson & his son Daniel, Renhold Brathwait, Ed. Benson, Rob. Partrigg, & others when we fill'd up y^{e} Quakers Milldam att Skellat-bridge ... ... oo^{ll} . o1^{s} . o6^{d}

This must have been a lively scene, and there would be plenty of willing helpers with the spade under this heading of two magistrates and various prominent estatesmen, while the ale went round. But what it was all about, we do not know. It seems unlikely, had it been a coercive measure to extract church rates from the unwilling Friend, that Mr. Robert Brathwaite would have assisted, for he himself was refusing at that very time to

pay church tithes, as we shall see. And another punitive expedition was necessary.

March 13. Spent with my Cosen Brathwhait, Ren. Brathwhait, & James Johnston, when wee [went] to pull downe ye Quakers Mill-dam ... ... oo^{li} . o1^{s} . o6^{d}

Trouble gathered round Reginald. In 1676, the Friends decided at their Lancaster Quarterly Meeting that as he had so long resisted their counsel for a settlement of his dispute with one Thomas R., that the latter was justified in having recourse to the law. The climax came in 1684, when three men (chosen from a distance) were deputed to take legal possession of Reginald's premises. The result was not agreeable. Reginald, assisted by his sons John, Jacob, George, and by his daughter Dorothy, "did also riotously fall upon them, beat, and abuse them, and did also threaten them and speak very contemptuously concerning their authority."* For this proceeding, a warrant was issued for the arrest of the whole Holme family. We hear of Reginald later at Clappersgate, divorced from his mill.

Just a little lower down the valley, on a rill falling from Loughrigg, is the homestead still called Millbrow, and close beside it is a field called Tenter Close, showing where the cloth was carried from the mill to stretch and dry. The first mention of Millbrow in the register shows it in possession of a Benson; for Francis of Millbrow was buried in 1655, and succeeded by a George. Higher up, Tarn Foot in Loughrigg was theirs, whence an Edward in 1654 was married; while in 1656 James Benson "o' th' Tarnefoot" (who must have been a dealer in cattle) paid the squire of Rydal for the grazing of "5 Oxen in ye fogg a fourthnight." It was perhaps this James to whom Squire Daniel let his fishing in the Brathay and Elterwater from 1666 onward. In 1681 Bernard of the Fould leased the fishing of Elterwater and

* Rydal Hall Papers.

Loughrigg Tarn, but he was a bad payer, and bills were required to cover his obligations. From 1652 John of How in Loughrigg had children baptized.

Loughrigg indeed, with Little Loughrigg—a name applied to the arm of the fell that stretched between the tarn and Skelwith Pool—abounded in Bensons. Their stronghold perhaps was the Fould, even before the purchase of its freehold, for there were three families seated there then, as we have seen. This little group of homesteads is lifted a little above that charming central hollow of Loughrigg that holds the mirroring tarn. About it stretch mountain pastures that would give excellent grazing to the small and hardy pack-horses of the clothiers, for which no doubt the smithy (which tradition asserts to have once stood here) was required. Above on the fells wandered the sheep that made the wealth of the place. No water flows past the Fould, but springs abound; and in the open fell that rises just behind the hamlet lies a pool called to this day Tenter's Pond, with a close beside it called Tenters. Perhaps the dyeing would be done by means of the abundant wells that spring about the place, and here the grey home-spun would first be dipped in yellow dye got from the dyer's broom *(genista tinctoria)* that grows wild in the district, and then in woad, to come out the durable Kendal green that was so much valued; or plunged in vats containing the mountain lichen, easily gathered at hand,* which produced the deep red colour called "murrey," and which commanded a higher price on the market than the green.

At High Close, another important holding of the family, there is likewise no documentary evidence of a mill, though there was trade (as will be shown); but on the Rothay side of Loughrigg there was the Bainrigg mill already mentioned, another possibly at Coat How,

* As late as 1772 the Rev. W. Gilpin met old people and children out collecting this lichen for dye, as he tells in his *Observations*. Mr. J. A. Martindale kindly informs me that the species was probably *lecavora parella* or *l. tartarea*.

and a last certainly at Miller Bridge, all of them originally in the hands of Bensons.

For the township of Grasmere, where the first manorial walk-mill stood, we have less evidence ; while the multiplicity of Bensons shown in the register is baffling. There is still a tradition that the Langdale folk used to carry their cloth over the mountain at Blea Rigg to be dressed in Grasmere ; and that they paid a small toll to their neighbour township, for keeping the road open to them.* If the tradition be correct, it must be referred to a very early period, before the walk-mills were introduced into Langdale ; and it would seem to point to the fact that the original lord's mill in Grasmere was situated on one of the higher western tributaries of the Rothay. On each of these tributaries Bensons are found, when the records become explicit—for at first they describe a man only as "of Grasmere" or later "of Easdale." They were at Blintarn Gill from the last quarter of the sixteenth century ; a John there having children baptized in 1574 and 1577 ; and another John in 1611. They also emerge at "Brymarhead," where a John begot another John in 1616. They were at Far Easdale, where a vanished homestead is associated with their name. A Francis Benson who was probably of Easdale, heads a rental for 1593 of the Marquis fee (in which he is unfortunately the only tenant specified by name), and is there stated to have paid a rent of 6s. 2d. It is no doubt his descendant Bernard who occupies the same position in a rental of 1675, paying 6s. 2½d. to the same fee. There was a James Benson in 1794 at Goody Bridge.

The position of one mill in this quarter is evident from a sluice still plainly visible on Sourmilk-gill in Easdale, which tradition declares to have been used for a walk-mill. There may have been one also at the Wray, where the water tumbles down from Silver How on to a fine

* The route started at Long House in Langdale, and descended on the left bank of Blindtarn Gill. It is said to be the one on which the Greens were lost.

meadow; and here we find Bensons settled from the earliest times. Indeed, there seem to have been two, if not three, dwelling-houses at this spot.* In 1571 Edward Benson of the "Wrai" was buried; in 1580 Bernard sold, or mortgaged "Wray Tenement" to William Fleming Esq., of Rydal, for £16,† while from 1601 to 1615 John of the Wray was having children baptized. Again in 1632 Squire John Fleming's account-books show the receipt of £3 from one Robert Wilson "for 2 yeares rent of Wray tenemt," and those of his executors show in 1645 £1 5s. received from Robert; yet in the same year the entry occurs "Rec. in discharge of a guage of ground of Robert bensons lying at Wrey in Gresmere £12. os. od." and again in 1648, "Rec. of Francis Benson for arrears behind of a morguage of a tenemt. at wrey in gresmire of Robt benson's £2. os. od." This no doubt is the Robert of Wray buried in 1658; and his successor George had a child baptized from the place in 1685.

Again, in 1643, 1s. od. was paid at the Grasmere Court, on Squire John's death, for his young son William being "found Tennant and nexte heire of wrey Tenemt." In 1662 Squire Daniel Fleming inherited from his uncle a tenement at Wray (doubtless the same) of the small customary rent of 1s. 5d. It was let to one John Wilson in 1663 for £1, but as he was in arrears of rent, he was quickly followed by John Nicolson, and then by Thomas Green. One of the houses at the Wray may have occupied the site of the modern St. Oswald's, where a barn is remembered to have stood.

The identification of other Bensons of the late sixteenth century with homesteads in Grasmere is impossible. The register shows a Thomas living in 1572, a Michael in 1576, a Robert in 1573, a James in 1573, and Edward in 1576; while a Robert was buried in 1573, and four Johns

* The rental of the Lumley fee, at Levens, dated 1375, gives among the tenants William "in le Wrai," who holds two cottages and pays 8d. per annum.

† Rydal Hall MSS.

respectively in 1573, 1582, 1584, and 1586. Three different Johns had children baptized in 1602. One of these we can probably assign to the "above beck" quarter of the township, as a John is specified in 1610 as "of the Forrest syd," and he died in 1654, being succeeded by a John, whose family was on the increase from 1651 to 1667. Another John "of Beckhouse" was a neighbour. There was certainly a walk-mill at one of these holdings, probably turned by the waters of Greenhead Gill, for two fields adjacent still go by the name of Tenters and Tenter's Park.

The name Tenters was also attached to a close (now thrown into allotment gardens) that lay to the left of the road, where it emerges from Town End. If a mill stood here, it may have been turned by the water of the now sluggish ditch that flows under Stock Bridge close by.*

It would be difficult to "place" more of the Grasmere mills; and the Bensons of Nicols, Moss-side, Thorneyhow, Underhow, and Tail-end—all customary land-holders—were not on becks that could turn a wheel. But we can form some estimate of their number. A rental made out in 1572 on an assignment of dower to the Marquis of Northampton's widow, declares that there were four mills in the Marquis fee, paying a rent of 23s. 4d., which were then decayed. Not one of them could be the indispensable corn-mill, situated on Tongue Gill, whose ruins can now be seen, and where an old miller attended to the grinding of the valley corn within the memory of man.

* It is a question whether the word *Stock* as well as *Tenter* may not be associated with the vanished industry. Among the orders drawn up to control the trades of Kendal in the sixteenth century (and which may follow older ones) there is one enacting that shearmen shall not wet and carry their cloth to the mill on Sundays; and the expression used is "to the walk-stock or fulling-mill."—*The Boke of Recorde*, p. 145. Now we have Stock Gill in Ambleside, a stream where mills jostled each other, and where an earlier name "Sleddal-beck" seems to have been superseded; and Stock Bridge by the present mill. There is a Stock field in Loughrigg, near the Fould and Tenters, intersected by a sike that never dries. Mill-beck Stock on Mill-beck, flowing into Windermere, was until recent times a mill. The "Maltstocke," for which Sir Daniel Fleming payed 4d. for the repair of in 1668 (Account Book) was no doubt the hand-worked malt-mill in common use.

We have therefore to add, to the three walk-mills in the township of Grasmere, paying together to the Richmond fee 13s. 10½d. in 1494, four more that paid 23s. 4d. to the Marquis fee, making altogether the almost unbelievable total of seven within the township.

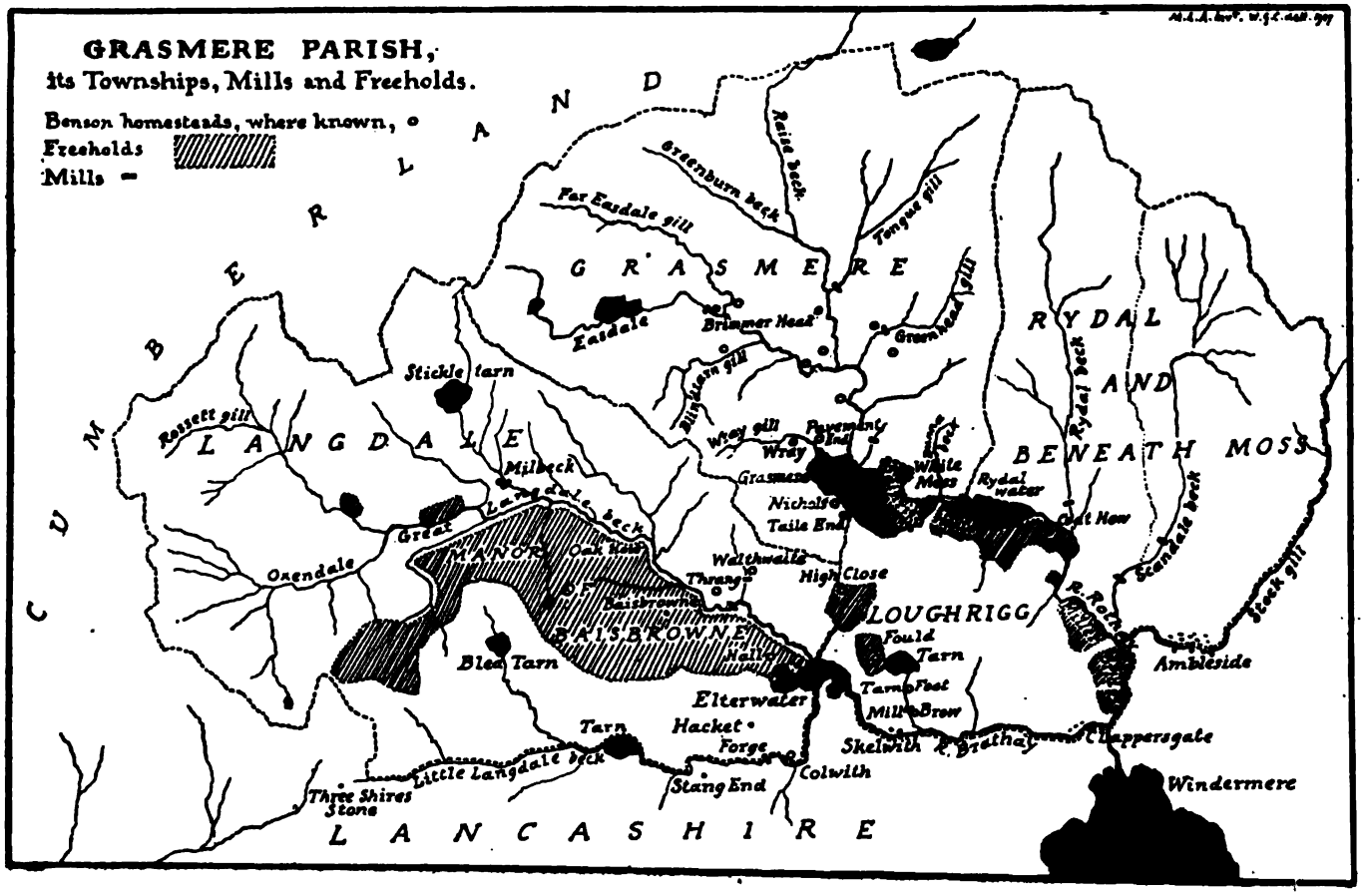
Add to this the five paying to the Marquis fee in Langdale, the three specified for Ambleside in the rental of 1507, the two for Loughrigg, and the one which appears to have stood within the manor of Rydal on Scandale-beck, and we arrive at the astounding figure of eighteen walk-mills that were turned by the streams of the parish of Grasmere during the 15th and early 16th centuries. Nor does this figure include the one or more mills that were probably worked in the Benson freehold of Baisbrowne. It is significant that the four Grasmere mills belonging to the Parr's division are declared to be in decay as early as 1572. The wealthy firm of Loughrigg clothiers were in the hey-day of their prosperity in 1575, when they secured their freeholds; and the high-water mark of the fortunes of the Benson family in general may be said to have been reached about this date, when they had yet lost nothing. But the ebb of the tide of trade from our valleys—scarcely perceptible at first—soon became a rapid flow, and mortgages and sales of property, as we shall see in the tale of the freeholds, were soon to become frequent. The customary lands too, held by various members of the Benson clan, were in jeopardy. Others besides Bernard and Robert of the Wray paid a visit to the rich squires of Rydal Hall, bringing money away in their pockets, but leaving compromising parchment behind them. Solomon of the Thrang was in difficulties as early as 1598, when he borrowed £21 from Squire William Fleming; and in order "to save harmless" (as the expression was) his two friends who had stood surety for the loan, he mortgaged to them his tenement in Baisbrowne, of which the rent was 25s. 3½d. In 1601, the debt being not yet paid, he renewed his deed

to them, and this was witnessed among others by Thomas Brathwaite, doubtless of Ambleside Hall. The two bondholders, tired maybe of their obligation, or pressed by Squire William's executors, apparently parted with their deed to Mr. Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside; and in the following year that gentleman paid Solomon £45 to gain the whole possession of the property.* But Solomon, muddled perhaps by his many deeds and mortgages, and truculent as well, refused to acknowledge that his birthright was now wholly lost. In 1605 he and his son-in-law John Hudson had to appear in court on the complaint of Mr. Brathwaite, where the verdict went against him; for it declared that neither Mrs. Hudson nor any other of the children of Solomon had right or claim to the farmhold, and that Solomon was to pay not only £4 for the plaintiff's costs, but also five marks for contempt of court. But the family hung on apparently to some smaller holding at the Thrang, though still in difficulties, and John of that place in 1625 made over to Mrs. Agnes Fleming of Rydal Hall—not being able to release or redeem the same—his holding at Walthat, rent 13s. 5d., with a close (rent 9d.) that was parcel of the Thrang (rent 6s. 8d.) for the sum of £25. Next year Mrs. Agnes executed a deliverance of Thrang, rent 6s. 11d., to Solomon for the sum of £4, to be paid at Michaelmas.

Squire John Fleming, son of Agnes, held mortgages from the Bensons, not only on the customary estate at the Wray and on the freehold of Bainrigg, but on some portion of Baisbrowne, for in 1631 his account-book shows an entry of £3 4s. received from John Benson as two years "rent" on that place.

The principal Elterwater branch of the family was likewise involved in land transactions of a complicated character. In 1605 Margaret, widow, of Elterwater, and her son Michael cleared an obligation of forty marks to

* These various deeds connected with the Brathwaites are among the MSS. of Mr. George Browne.


GRASMERE PARISH,
its Townships, Mills and Freeholds.
Benson homesteads, where known, o
Freeholds
Mills
CUMBERLAND
GRASMERE
LANGDALE
RYDAL AND BENEATH MOSS
LOUGHRIGG
MANOR OF BAISBROWNE
LANCASHIRE
Far Easdale gill
Greenburn beck
Raise beck
Tongue gill
Greenhead gill
Easdale
Brimmer Head
Blindtarn gill
Wray gill
Pavement End
Wray
Grasmere
White Moss
Rydal water
Nichols
Taile End
Coat How
Rydal beck
Scandale beck
Stock gill
Ambleside
Stickle tarn
Rossett gill
Milbeck
Great Langdale beck
Oxendale
Oak Hole
Waithwaite
Thrang
High Close
Baisbrowne
Hall
Blea Tarn
Elterwater
Hacket
Forge
Tarn
Little Langdale beck
Three Shires Stone
Stang End
Colwith
Skelwith
R. Brathay
Clappersgate
Windermere
Fould
Tarn
Tarn Foot
Mill Brow

Mr. Thomas Brathwaite of Ambleside (which is stated to have been incurred as part payment of a tenement at Elterwater sold to them by Thomas) by handing over to him such lands, tenements, &c. situated within the lordships of Langdale and Grasmere as they have bargained and paid for with Mr. George Gilpin of Kentmere. A note at the back of the deed, written by Mr. Gawen Brathwaite, gives the date of Mr. Gilpin's "sale or bargain" of these lands in Langdale to his brother as April 10, 1606. They were subsequently (in 1674) willed by Gawen's son Thomas Braithwaite to his brother Robert under the name of Gilpin's lands. A lawsuit with an Edward Benson seems to have engaged the Brathwaites through the years 1605 to 1611.

The partial recovery of freehold by the Elterwater Bensons will be shown later.

II.—The Freeholds.

Baisbrowne. The history of the little "manor," which lies between the two head feeders of the Brathay, is a shadowy one for the long years before it came into the hands of the Bensons. First we hear of it as granted by William de Lancaster to the Priory of Conishead. He endowed that house along with other lands and privileges,

with all the land of Basebrun, with appurtenances and meadow, which the Prior and Hugh de Borwardel held of him in farm, within these bounds, beginning at Elterwater, and by Elterwater to Elkeslakbec, to Hogebat, and by the heights of Lingemouthe to Crossedak, and on the road to Little Langden, as far as the enclosed land of Great Langden, so following the hedge as far as Alnetum, from thence across the meadow which the said prior and Hugh held in farm, and following the hedge which the said prior and Hugh made, to the bank of the water of Langden, and along the bank to the aforesaid Elterwater.*

* West's *Antiquities of Furness*. West copied the list of benefactions, of which this is part, from the documents of Mr. Wilson Braddyll, then owner of Conishead. The names are new, almost unrecognizable, being either lost or (probably) corruptly spelt. Is "Hogebat" Hacket, from which the line of boundary passed to the summit of Lingmoor?

Furthermore William left them on his death in 1246 meadow-land near Elterwater.*

The intrusion of a Lancashire religious house into this far mountain nook of Westmorland and the barony of Kendal seems singular; and if the prior and canons to reach it had had to follow the road of the descending waters, they would have had a far travel. But from the shores of Morecambe Bay, where their house stood, there is a short cut to it over a watershed. They enjoyed by grant of William the right to fish on the Crake and in Coniston lake. Thence the way was short; either by following Yewdale beck to its source and over the low pass with its steep drop to Colwith (the way the sea-gulls come), or—and more likely—by taking the straight line up Tilberthwaite and over the rise to Little Langdale beck, which they would cross at one of the two ancient fords now marked by stepping-stones, and by the farmstead of Stang-end—a name that commemorates a former wooden or stang bridge.

And William's grant shows that already, with the aid of an active partner, the priory was farming this barren corner, upon the northern slope of Lingmoor. Already an enclosing hedge had been planted, and a bank or dyke thrown up against the Great Langdale beck, that even now is apt to turn the meadows into a lake. With the land veritably theirs, the holy men would no doubt proceed to make an orderly settlement, especially on their newer grant at Elterwater. Their dwelling-house and grange would be built where the hall later stood; and it was they who in all probability erected the corn-mill found afterwards at the spot, where their own oats and rye, along with those of the small homesteads that rose about them on the freehold, could be ground. The religious needs of this far-away nook would be cared for likewise; and in the firm and widely-spread tradition that

* Mr. Farrer's *Lancashire Inquests, Extents, &c.*

a chapel once stood on the slope below the Beild, between the road and Little Langdale tarn, we very likely stumble upon an unwritten bit of history.

Next we hear of the Penningtons in this quarter of the parish. They were great landowners in Furness and Cumberland, and also (like the de Lancasters) benefactors to Conishead Priory. The Inquisition of William de Lindesey in 1283 declares that "Alan de Pointon holds Little Langeden which is worth 40s." In 1377 Thomas de Bardsey conveyed to Alan de Penington and his wife Catharine the manor of Langden, which he held in trust from William de Penington. And in 1415 Alan de Penington died seized of the manors of Penington, Tilberthwait, and Langden; to which his brother John, aged 22, succeeded.* It was probably this Alan who figures in the rental at Levens (date about 1400) as a freeholder of the Richmond or Lindesey fee, as his predecessor does in the document of 1283. "Alan Penyngton knight, holds of the lord the manor of Lyttyllangdall in Strickeland Kettyl with the appurtenances, by homage and fealty and renders yearly [*mutilated*] and venison."

After this there is a blank, until in 1562 we find John Benson of Langdale or "Mickle" Langdale to be in possession of a freehold thereabouts, called the manor of Baisbrowne, where he was resident, along with many of his clan.

Several of these were undoubtedly wealthy men (and of his brother Barnard more will be said), but to him alone belonged (so far) the proud position of freeholder, who could write himself down a gentleman or armiger. We read in Burke's *General Armory* :—

Benson (Baysbrowne, 1546, and Hawkshead, co. Lancaster). Quarterly, erm. and or, a bend engr. gu. surmounted by another plain ar. charged with three trefoils sa. *Crest*—a boar's head erased

* Whittaker's *History of Richmondshire.*

ar. muzzled, gorged with a collar, and pendant therefrom an escutcheon az. charged with a trefoil or. *Motto*—Si Deus, quis contra.*

But the distinction was not destined to be long borne by a Benson of Baisbrowne, though John in his desire for a male heir passed over his daughters, and adopted a relative as son. This heir, John by name, was a minor in 1563, but we soon hear of him as lord of this manor from deeds at Rydal Hall.

In 1574 Queen Elizabeth, as lady of the manor of the lands she had inherited of the barony of Kendal, confirmed her customary tenants in their ancient tenure, along with the amount of the fine or gressum to be paid by them at change of lord or tenant; which fine—except for the men of Ambleside and Troutbeck—was fixed at the sum of two years' rent for old tenants, and three years' rent for new tenants. The question of the fine was becoming a vexed one between lords and tenants; for many of the heads of smaller demesnes were trying to exact higher and what were called arbitrary gressums from their tenants. The customary holders of Baisbrowne

* An earlier edition of Burke (1847) gives a fuller version. "Benson (originally of Baysbrowne 1546, and Hawkshead co. of Lancaster, now represented by Robert Benson of Parkside, co. of Westmorland, and Robert Benson of Lodge Lane, co. of Lancaster, Esq.)" And it may be that the right to carry a coat of arms was procured by some descendant of the first freeholder John, who certified his claim by the above particulars. It is interesting to notice that the date (1546) coincides almost with the time of the close of the first lease of the lands of Conishead Priory, after its suppression (West's *Antiquities of Furness*); and John Benson may very well have purchased this portion of them then. Of the various coats set down in Burke to the name of Benson, one other at least was in use in these parts. Mr. Geo. Browne, who has gone into this confusing matter, finds that Thomas Benson, Land Tax Commissioner for the county of Westmorland in 1717, sealed with the one described as "Ar. on a chevron between three Goats' Heads erased sable three escallops of the field." This appears on the paten given to Grasmere Church by Mrs. Dorothy Benson (see later), as does the coat "On a chevron three cross crosslets" upon her cup, and the Baisbrowne three trefoils on her alms-dish. A variation on this last is found on a tablet in Hawkshead Church to the memory of John and Mary Benson, of Beetham (1771 and 1781) where two bendlets take the place of a bend (Mr. H. S. Cowper's *Monumental Inscriptions*). The Bensons of Skelwith Fold, commemorated on a Hawkshead tombstone by the strange prefix "Mr." as late as 1819, may have represented the Hawkshead branch of the family mentioned in Burke. In the palmy Elizabethan days of the family, several of them were seated on the Lancashire side of the Brathay valley, as at Skelwith, and higher at Stang End.

or Little Langdale thought it well to lose no time in striking a bargain with their young lord, and in obtaining from him a confirmation of their ancient customs. At the head of these was Michael Benson, clothier, of Loughrigg (and almost certainly of Coat-how) who must have held some land in Elterwater or Baisbrowne. In the deed prepared between the tenants and their lord John in 1571,* not only was the fine fixed at two years' rental, for any change, but certain bargains about timber were written out. This deed, however, was never signed; and when in the following year another was drawn up, the names of Michael Benson and of John Benson of Elterwater had disappeared, and John Mealfell took their place, as representative for his fellows with their lord. The quaintly-worded parchment declares John Mealfell to be possessed of a messuage or tenement with appurtenances situated at "Baybrowne," rent 25s. 7d., which he holds "accordynge to Thanncianntе and laudable custome of the countrie called Tenand rryghte commonlye used within the baronye of Kendall," from John Benson of Langdale, gentleman, as lord. And as "certayne debaits and variannce before this time hathe happenyed and growne" between the two concerning the fine to be paid, this variance has now been settled "by sundry frendes"; and it is agreed that John Mealfell with all other holders by tenant right "within Elterwater, Baybrowne, or Ackhowe" shall pay in future, as they have always paid, "withoute memorie of man" to their lord "onlie the dowble rente and no more for and on the name of a grisshume or ffyne." In consideration of a certain sum of money paid before the sealing of the document, John Benson solemnly undertakes to carry out these provisions. The document is signed by himself and nine or ten tenants.

There had been grievous quarrel apparently between lord John and his relative Michael, for a document of

* See Appendix I.

1577, which gives the astonishing intelligence of John's sale of his entire manor, binds over the purchaser in the sum of £520 not to re-sell to Michael Benson, clothier, of Loughrigg. (See Appendix II.) The purchaser was James Brathwaite, of Ambleside, and a connection by marriage of the Bensons.

The family of Brathwaites, of Ambleside Hall, had likewise risen on the great wave of the woollen trade,* and its members were intermarrying with other rich trading families, and acquiring freeholds and coats of arms. Fresh light is thrown on their progress by a recently copied document in the Record Office,† which gives a very full account of the tenants of "Amelsett" for the year 1505-6. From this we learn that five holdings (or tenements), all of which were of a size allowing five cattle to pasture on the common, had recently passed from other men into the hands of Brathwaites. Besides which, the wife of Thomas "Brathwayte" was paying a high rent for a holding of fifteen cattle, which marked it out from all other tenements except the ancient large one of "Master Forster Place." In this we may doubtless distinguish the later Ambleside Hall; and that the family was engaged in business is shown by the fact that two Brathwaites were at that time employed in the fulling trade, Robert having a walk-mill of his own.

The first member, however, to be distinguished by mention in county history was a Robert, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII., and he seems to have himself married, in the person of Alice, daughter of John Williamson of Milnbeck, Under-Skiddaw, into a fuller's family. Of his children, the eldest Thomas (knighted) married Dorothy Bindlose, daughter of the rich Robert Bindlose, merchant, of Helsington by Kendal, and with her he acquired property in Burneside, which became, along with Warcop, the seats of his branch of the family. James, the second

* See "Ambleside Town and Chapel." These *Transactions*, N.S., vi.
† Ministers' Account. Henry VII. 877.

son, remained with the business in Ambleside, and married Jane, daughter of Barnard Benson of Loughrigg; and Elizabeth, his sister, married George Benson of Hugill Hall, who died in 1573 without male heirs.* There may be mentioned here, among the inter-marriages, that of Robert Bindlose's other daughter Agnes, in 1574, to William Fleming, Esq., of Coniston and Rydal; as well as the more pertinent and hitherto unnoticed fact that this was her second marriage, and that the first was to a Benson, whose Christian name and seat Sir Daniel Fleming apparently did not know when he recorded the same in the writings of his pedigree.† Agnes's son, Daniel Fleming (for whom she bought Skirwith Hall), married Isabel, daughter of James Brathwaite of Ambleside.

James, remaining at the ancestral home and mill, which were situated on the right bank of the Stock in the parish of Grasmere, aspired also to freehold, as his purchase of Baisbrowne shows. There was little need for the careful provision of the seller that he should not pass it on to his wife's brother-in-law, Michael Benson. When he died in 1583 his son Thomas was a minor, and it was not until 1597 that the latter obtained the livery of his father's freeholds from the Crown, which included the manor of Baisbrowne and twenty-three messuages or tenements in "Baysbrowne, Elterwater, and Ackhowe."‡

The extent of the manor was clearly greater then than now, and it is difficult to reconstruct it, or to account for the twenty-three farmholds which it contained. At present its boundaries enclose only one half of Ling Moor (the rocky mass rising between the Great and Little Langdale becks), and the farmstead of Baisbrowne, with the adjacent cottage called Oak How; while a few isolated

* Communicated by Mr. J. Æ. Martindale. The Bensons remained at Hugill, however. Mr. Browne finds in the Windermere register baptisms of Randall's children from 1610 to 1628; and a Thomas there acquired a portion of the advowson of Windermere in 1578.

† Rydal Hall MSS.

‡ The original document, signed by Lord Burghley, is in the possession of Mr. George Browne.

patches of ground lie outside. Certainly in the time of the Bensons it included Elterwater Hall; and round about the hall, with its corn-mill, may have clustered some of those thirteen homesteads which John Benson enumerated in his will, and seven of which were occupied by men of his family. If so, they vanished when the evil days came, as did so many other homesteads. Some, however, may have been scattered widely abroad, for a messuage in Clappergate paid a rent to the manor in 1698 of 9s. 3d., and this portion (which suggests the possession of a wharf on the Brathay for the transference of goods by the lake) is now represented by a field.

The manor of Baisbrowne was, indeed, clearly created from the freehold possessed by the priory of Conishead at Elterwater, with accretions bought in by the rich Bensons after they obtained possession of it. It probably never embraced the whole of the triangle between the two meeting streams. Lord Muncaster still claims the manor of Little Langdale, for which his ancestor paid free service to the barony of Kendal at the end of the thirteenth century. One part of the Hacket Forge has continued in the hands of the Penningtons from early times, while another part was acquired as recently as 1872.* Yet the forge was worked by Gawen Brathwaite, as will be shown; and he seems to have had an hereditary interest in it, since he speaks of having added to that interest by a purchase of his own.

This inheritance was not long enjoyed by Thomas Brathwaite. That he was a man of great ability and of some ambition is shown by his actions. He had money transactions with several Bensons, and a lawsuit with two of them. He sat on public commissions, and on boards of arbitration. He procured a coat-of-arms (different from his uncle's of Warcop), and collected coins and antiquities from the Roman camp at Ambleside. The record of his death, looked for in vain in the Grasmere

* Kindly communicated by Mr. Watt.

register, has recently been found in an excerpt taken from it by Sir Daniel Fleming, which shows that he was buried on December 1st, 1607. He was succeeded by his brother Gawen, who lived a long and prosperous life at Ambleside, occupied by his many affairs, both of land and business.

Gawen's will, dated January 14th, 16$\frac{53}{54}$, gives us several interesting particulars of these affairs. All his lands, freehold and customary, in Yorkshire, Westmorland, and Lancashire he leaves to his eldest son Thomas and his heirs; and, failing them, to his next surviving son, Robert, and his heirs. He leaves to them jointly his interest and his property in several iron foundries, and as one of these is in our district, at Hacket Forge, where an old smelting-hearth has been found, it may be well to quote the clause entire. This forge may have been established by the religious men of Conishead Priory. That they were interested in the smelting of iron we know from the fact that William de Lancaster gave them all the requisities for a bloomery in Furness, with ore from the mine and dead wood in Blawith for charcoal. If they made a compact with the Penningtons, who owned an adjacent freehold, to share at a furnace which should supply their estates with iron implements, as well as at a corn mill to be used jointly by their tenants, we should have an explanation of the "moieties" which turn up in connection with both.

The clause runs :—

Item I giue and bequeath unto my Two Sonnes Thomas and Robert their heires and assignes all that my Tenem^{t} and Forge att the Hackert, and alsoe all my Tytle right and Interrest in the Finery hearth and Forge att Consey and all my Coale-howses Tooles and implem^{ts} vsed Pvided or belonginge to the said Hackert Forge and Finery Hearth att Consey or either of them, Together with all my Stocke of Woode Coales and Vre* alreadie Pvided or wch is bought or contracted for and towardes the Mannageinge of the said Iron-workes. As also my Woodes att Parkamore, all wch I give and bequeath to my said Two Sonnes their heires and assignes for and

* *V* and *U* were often used for each other. Ure is an old pronunciation of ore.

towardes the payment and discharge of all my Debts, and the Pformeinge and payinge of the Legacies herein given and bequeathed. And after all my Debts and Legacies satisfied and paid out of the said Forges Stocke and other my Psonall Estate, Then my minde and Will is and I giue and Bequeath vnto my Sonne Thomas and his heires the One Moytie of the said Tenem[t] and Forge att the Hackert, as alsoe the moytie of all my Title and Interest in the said Fynerie hearth and Forge att Consey with the Moytie of all my Coale houses Tooles and Implements vsed Pvided or belonginge to the said Forge and Fynery hearth soe farr as my right and parte will Extende unto. And likewise I give and bequeath to my Sonne Robert Brathwaite his heires and assignes the other Moytie of the foresaid Fynery hearth att Consey with the other Moytie of the Coalhouses Tooles Implem[ts] & Apptennces belonginge vnto my part of the said Forge. And for the other Moytie of the said Hackert Forge and Tenem[t] w[ch] I bought of M[r] Wright for my said sonne Robert, Together with the other Moytie of all the Coalhouses Tooles Implem[ts] & Apptennces therevnto belonginge I doe hereby after my Debts and Legacies satisfyed & paid as afforesaid, give ratifie and Confirme the same vnto my said Sonne Robert and his heires for Ever.

The following clause, which sounds confusing at first, shows that Gawen had bought the Hugill property purposely for his son Robert, as well as the customary holding of Baisbrowne, which is a farm within the manor of the name :—

Item I giue ratifie and Confirme vnto my sonne Robert and his heires all those Landes and Tenem[ts] w[ch] I formerlie bought for him att Hugall and Baysebrowne payinge the Ancient and Accustomed rente and services for the same, Alsoe I give unto him a Lease of my Moytie of the Milne att Elterwater for Thirty one yeares.

Gawen had farmed the little estate of Baisbrowne within his manor, and the inventory made out at his death* shows a large farm stock there, which was valued at £157 os. 8d. He left to his manager, or "hinde" there, a legacy of £1, and 10s. each to the herd's wife and mother-in-law. His son Robert continued to farm it, as we learn from a widely different source.

* See "Ambleside Town and Chapel," (these *Transactions*, vol. vi., N.S., p. 1).

The Brathwaites of Ambleside seem to have been Parliamentary in their sympathies during the Civil Wars, and in religion they favoured the Presbyterians. Thomas, now the head of the family, was, when the new scheme of church government was framed, appointed one of the four elders of the parish of Grasmere in 1645.* Robert refused to pay the tithes due from him for Baisbrowne, and persisted in his refusal at the restoration of the old order, when king and ejected vicar alike came into office again. Accordingly, a Bill of Exchequer was drafted, which placed Robert's name at the head of a list of fifteen parishioners who all refused to pay, and which included five Bensons—Michael, William, James, Anthony, and Francis—and proceedings against them were opened.† At the depositions taken at Ambleside, however, in 1663,‡ only the four most prominent and wealthy among them were cited—viz., Robert Brathwaite, Christopher Nicholson, Francis Benson, and John Benson. One George Benson of Langdale, aged 96, was a witness, and Robert Shacklocke of Elterwater, who declared that "Gawen Brathwaite esq. dec^{d} was owner of the messuage &c. called Baisbrowne, and stocked it with his own goods till his death about 9 years since, when the defendant Robert Brathwaite his son became the occupier." Thomas Borrwicke deposed that the tenement was now let to him for three years. Edward Benson of Loughrigg, yeoman, aged 36, stated that he and two others had taken a lease of the tithes from the rector, the Rev. John Ambrose.

The claim made by the church on the little estate of Baisbrowne was a large one, and that it was an arbitary one is shown by the fact that it is practically the same (with variations only in wording) as that made on the other estates. The items are given fully in Francis Benson's case (see later), but it may be noticed that the

* Dealt with in forthcoming "Church in Grasmere."

† Ex. B. and A., Charles II., Westmorland, 4.

‡ Ex. Deps., 15 Charles II., Mich. 33, Westmorland.

demand made on sheep was upon a flock of 300, whereas Gawen's flock at Baisbrowne had numbered 173 at his death. The claim was, moreover, aggravated by the fact that arrears were demanded for fourteen years past. This, multiplying the annual tithe of £8 19s. 10d., made the total figure £129 18s.—an enormous one, reckoning the value of money in those days. How the matter was settled is not known.

Gawen Brathwaite, though his sons and daughters were so many that he had to make an "out-cast in the wall" of Ambleside Chapel to seat them alongside himself, had no grandson of his name to follow him. When his eldest son Thomas died without heirs in 1674, the lordship of Baisbrowne passed to his fourth son Robert and his heirs. Thomas's will bequeaths it as "all that my manor or lordship of Baisbrowne and all the rents services and appurtenances thereunto belonging as also my rents and services of my tenants of the lands called Gilpin's Lands in Langdall."* When Robert died it passed to his daughter Dorothy. Her marriage with Miles Atkinson must have been a poor one. Miles was a man who could not sign his name, and he was soon in money difficulties, for we find him (on his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bridget, consenting to a mortgage on High House, Hugill), securing to her an annuity of £10 out of the "mannor or lordship of Baisbrowne." Soon again he was selling lands outright at Hugill. On the death of his wife he charged a fine to the tenants of Baisbrowne of double the amount stipulated by some of them in the preceding century, as the following receipt shows:—

May ye 3^d^ 1693. Then Reseved of Robert Partridge ye sum' of forty shillings in full for a gen^r^all fyne being a fyne sertaine due unto me upon ye death of Dorothy my Late wife for a messuage & Tenem^t^ att Clappersgate of ye yearly Rent of nine shillings & threepence for which s^d^ sum' of forty shillings I admitt him Tenant of ye s^d^ Messuage and Tenem^t^ according to Custome as Witness my hand. Myles Atkinson [mark].

* *The Boke of Kirkby Kendall.*

Miles paid a free rent of 19s. 3d. to the Crown for the manor in 1695, as Gawen Brathwaite had done in 1636. He died in 1698. His will directed the sale of all his remaining property (except Baisbrowne, which passed to his eldest son), and this included, besides High House, "all that my Customary Messuage and Tenement and Parcells of ground with th' appurtenances, situate Lying and being in great Langdale," which was not freehold, but paid a rent of 2s. to the Richmond fee. From the proceeds, four-score pounds each was to be kept in trust for Dorothy's other children, Thomas and Bridget, and the rest went to his second wife and her babies. His first family was still young, and Thomas, the younger boy, was placed at the Ambleside school,* and ultimately proceeded to college and procured his B.A. degree. The eldest, Robert, who inherited Baisbrowne, was of modest ambitions, for by his own desire he was apprenticed in 1699 to a sadler at Clappersgate; but in two years time the indenture was cancelled.† He gave a release to his father's executors on coming of age in 1704, and probably established himself at Baisbrowne to farm his property. The will of Robert Hawkrigge of Oak How in 1726 states that the holding is "of the Lands of Robert Atkinson of Baysbrown, gentleman, and pays a lord's rent of 15s. 9½d." Robert's son, Braithwaite Atkinson, "of Great Langdale," who married Jane Green in 1729, must have been an excellent agriculturist, for in 1748 we find Mr. Knott of Rydal writing to Sir William Fleming that if he cannot come over himself to the sale of sheep, "Mr. Cumpstone will do His best, [though] Brathwaite Atkinson of Bayesbrown is a much better Judge." In 1751 Brathwaite appeared in the list of Langdale freeholders as "of Carlisle." He was succeeded by John "of Baysbrowne," the baptism of whose sons, Thomas and

* See "Ambleside Town and Chapel."

† For most of these particulars I am indebted to Mr. George Browne, whose ancestor Benjamin was one of the guardians of the boys.

Braithwaite, in 1780 and 1783, as well as his own death in 1790, are recorded in the Grasmere register. Green in 1810, when locating his "Sixty Etchings," says "Bays Brown is a farm house, and the capital of a little manor, of which Mr. Atkinson is the lord." In 1829 John Atkinson, living at Cockermouth, was the owner, and the *Cumberland and Westmorland Directory* describes the manor as "containing Lingmoor Fell, and two extensive blue-slate quarries." It was sold probably by him to Mr. Benson Harrison of Ambleside, whose descendant, Miss Muriel Harrison, is now in possession of it.

The house, lying under the bleak fell of Lingmoor and cut off from the valley by the Great Langdale Beck, which runs over the low pastures in times of flood, has nothing to distinguish it from the usual old farmstead of ample type. What ornament it possessed in oak panelling and carving has been taken away, and the parlour mantlepiece is said to have been placed in a modern home of the Harrisons. One little room is called "the lord's study." The damp floors of the house and its low ceilings, give an impression of forlornness that its lonely position accentuates. Yet about it and the still lonelier cot of Oak How there are signs, in roads and ruined walls, of the life and prosperity that once filled this remotest nook in the mountains, and are now vanished.

Elterwater Hall.—The connection between the Brathwaites and the Bensons of Elterwater was in Gawen's time of a friendly character. In his will he charged his lands at Parkamore with an annuity of £9 to be paid to Michael Benson, the elder, of Elterwater during his life. This Michael was probably he who had, along with his mother in 1605, secured their holding at Elterwater by making over "Gilpin's Lands" to Thomas Brathwaite. And he may have been the son of John of Elterwater, whose death is registered in 1599. He died in 1670.

And next we find Gawen's two sons, Thomas and Robert (who neither of them had sons), parting with a

portion of the Langdale freehold acquired by their grandfather from John Benson to a Benson, who was possibly his descendant. In 1669 they executed a deed granting to Michael Benson of Elterwater, the younger, for the sum of £100, the freehold of the customary messuage or tenement in his holding which he had inherited, known as Elterwater Hall. Along with this went one half-share in a corn mill on the same premises now in decay, and a close called Little Parke, as well as all the closes, pastures, meadows, &c., called Millbeck, situated in the township of Langdale. For these they agreed to furnish Michael with an inheritance "in fee simple," provided he paid a yearly rent of 20s. and suit of Court at the Court Baron of Thomas Brathwaite and his heirs when such was kept for the manor of Baisbrowne, with a stipulation on Michael's side that he should not be required to travel more than ten miles to pay the same.*

Thus the Bensons gained again a freehold in Langdale, though on a much smaller scale than their former one. We find Michael of Elterwater executing a bond in 1671 with Thomas Benson "de Kirkby Kendal, Barber chirurgen," and also holding bonds of the two Francis Bensons, senior and junior, of the Fold, and of Thomas Benson of Coat How. He died at the age of 60 in 1672, the year in which his wife Jane, described as "de Langdall," was buried beneath the floor of Grasmere Church. The freehold continued in his family till at least the middle of the eighteenth century. About that time John of Elterwater Hall granted to his son and heir, John, the closes and pastures in Langdale called Broad Hows, Ash Lea garth, Wallthwaite wood, and Holme field, which were not freehold, but paid to the Marquis fee a rent of 5s. John appears as a freeholder for Langdale in the official list of 1751, along with the owner of Baisbrowne.

The Fould.—The Fould, a customary holding of the

* Mr. G. Browne's MSS.

Bensons in Loughrigg from the earliest record of it by name, remained a stronghold of their family till the end of the eighteenth century.

Nicolson and Burn make mention of it as a freehold in their history:—

> There is a place in Loughrig called Fold-house, which is freehold, and heretofore belonged to the family of *Benson*. The last of which name, *Bernard Benson*, married a daughter of Gilpin of Kentmere, and had four daughters co-heirs; of whom, one was married to judge Hutton, another to James Brathwaite of Ambleside esquire, a third to Mr. Davies of Winder in the parish of Boston, and the fourth to Mr. Michael Benson of Coat-how.

This dateless paragraph has been a source of confusion to many who have sought information as to the baffling family of Bensons. The Bernard in question, far from being the last of his name at the Fould, must have been he who held it before the freehold was obtained. The James Brathwaite of Ambleside, who is elsewhere stated to have married Jane, daughter of Bernard Benson "of Loughrigg,"* died in 1583, being the only member of that family who bore the name of James; and Michael of Coat How, who purchased a great deal of freehold in 1575 and is always described as clothier, was the last of the name of Michael at Coat How, and therefore it must have been he who married the daughter and co-heiress of Bernard.

In fact, Nicolson and Burn's Bernard fits in extremely well with the Bernard whose widow Elizabeth was in possession of the Fould in 1575;† and he, almost certainly, was the brother Barnard of Loughrigg to whom John Benson, the freeholder of Little Langdale, entrusted by will the whole care of his property, but who was dead before the codicil to the same was written in 1563. As the Bensons worked in partnership always, Barnard may

* St. George's Heraldic Visitation of Westmorland, 1615.

† Deed of the divisions of the freeholds at Rydal Hall.

well have been a rich man like his brother, and his daughters reckoned as heiresses. His widow "Elsobeth" was buried in 1577, two years after the freehold of her large freehold (along with the smaller ones at the Fould held by the widows of Robert and Thomas) had been acquired by her wealthy son-in-law, Michael of Coat How.

To which member of the family the "capital messuage" at the Fould was now transferred, in the absence of male heirs to Barnard, is not apparent; but a Francis becomes prominent in the church register and elsewhere from the year 1638 onwards. He was a man of pronounced character, who eagerly followed new channels of political and religious thought. When the Presbyterians framed their scheme of church government in 1645, he was chosen one of the four elders of the parish, standing apparently for the township of Rydal and Loughrigg, as Mr. Thomas Brathwaite did for Ambleside, Michael Benson (doubtless of Elterwater) for Langdale, and Michael Knott for Grasmere. On George Fox's appearance in the countryside (which was in 1653) he became his adherent, gave him hospitality even after Fox was a marked man, and warmly embraced the tenets of the Friends. We meet with his name constantly after the Restoration in tax-papers and churchwardens' presentments as refusing to pay his church dues. In the Subsidy Roll of 1661, he and his wife Dorothy are taxed 1s. 4d. each as non-communicants. So also is Barnard Benson of Loughrigg and John Benson, with Mary his wife, of Langdale, who must likewise have joined the Friends. Francis naturally was among the number who refused to pay tithes. The church assesses his possessions in the following terms, the demand being exactly that made upon Mr. Robert Brathwaite, John Benson, and Michael Benson, and only upon wealth in husbandry, not in trade or mills:—

Francis Benson did possesse & occupy within ye Rectory of Grasmeare & County of Westm'ld' for 14 yeares last past div'se meadowes ye customary paym^t^ for the tith hay whereof in ev'y of the said yeares was 10^d^ Alsoe had in each yeare 10 cowes ye Customary paym^t^ for ev'y cowes milke in ev'y of the said yeares was 2^d^ Alsoe had one tyth Calfe in evry yeare the paym^t^ whereof was yearely 1^s^ 8^d^ Alsoe had in every said yeare 2 foales the customary paym^t^ for the same was in every yeare 2^d^ apeice And alsoe had 300 sheepe & 100 lambs fallen in every of ye said yeares the tyth wool whereof was yearely worth 40^s^ And 1^s^ 2 A customary paym^t^ for ev'y of ye said tyth lambes And also dureing the said time kept 3 sowes the tyth of the piggs in each yeare was ten pence And alsoe kept & had dureinge the said time 10 geese ten hens & 10 duckes ye tyth of the profitts whereof was yearely worth 5^s^ And alsoe had in each of the said yeares 2 swarmes of bees the customary paym^t^ for the same was yearely 2^d^ apeice And alsoe had dureinge the said time 10 bushells of Aples 10 bushells of peares & 10 bushells of plumbes wth div'se qualities of other fruites in each of ye said yeares the tyth whereof was yearely worth 3^s^ And did alsoe depasture 2 acres of ground with drye & barren Catle ye tyth whereof was worth in each of the said yeares 5^s^ And alsoe had groweinge hempe ye tyth wherof was worth 2^s^ yearely And alsoe is oveinge 2-6 in ev'y yeare for oblac'one wth div'se other dues.

A note in Sir Daniel Fleming's handwriting among the Rydal Hall papers shows that the proceedings of the Friends were soon watched and reported :—

Nov. 1. 63. there then mett at ye house of Jno. Benson at Stangend in Lancashire these Quakers following

Westmorland people

Francis Benson, Bernard his son, Reginhold Holme, Michael Wilson, Barbara Benson.

Lancashire people

Gyles Walker, wright, near Hauxside, William Wilson ye speaker, & his wife.

These James Russell gave me in ye names of Nov. 5. 63.

Thus the first illicit meetings were held in remote homesteads, and the Westmorland Friends slipped over the border at Little Langdale ford to join those of Lancashire.

The family of Francis remained staunch Friends, and obstinate in their refusal to pay church rates. Francis's death is recorded in the registers of that body as of "Fould in Loughrig" for February of the year 16$\frac{7}{8}$, his wife Dorothy having died in 1669.* His successor Francis, who likewise had a wife Dorothy, appears in the Subsidy Rolls of 1675 as paying for her and himself the non-communicants tax of 1s. 4d.; as do Reynald Holme and his wife Jane; and a John Benson in Langdale—where the Quakers were then most numerous.

This Francis, spoken of as junior in his father's lifetime, died according to the Friends' register, in January, 17$\frac{14}{15}$, and a third Francis, grandson of the first (whose wife Beatrix "of Fold" died in 1733) seemingly followed him. The churchwardens cite a Francis of Fold as failing to pay rates on his property there and in Grasmere in their presentments of 1705, 1706, 1707, 1712 and 1717. Again the name appears in 1727, but only as "a Quaker," and in 1728 and 1732, when a Bernard is also added. As the third Francis's death is not recorded in the Registers of Kendal, it is possible that he left the home of his forefathers; and the death of a Bernard, son of Francis, of London, is recorded for 1775.

The main stock of Fould Bensons was failing; nor is it easy to trace the subsidiary householders of the name there. At the close of the seventeenth century a Thomas, an Arthur, and a George are all represented in the church register. In 1765 both an Edward and a Leonard had children baptized there.

By this time trade and all attendant wealth had departed from this hollow of the fells; and the once proud race of clothiers and freeholders clung as simple husbandmen to barren lands in a time of general decline and impoverishment. The freehold with its self-contained and busy hamlet had declined into a group of poor homesteads,

* For these dates I am indebted to Mr. Wilfrid Sessions.

that were presently let to shoemakers and "slate-rivers," and even paupers. In 1776 the township books give Gawen Langton as its owner. In 1792 it was advertised for sale at the Salutation Inn in Ambleside, along with High Close. The printed sheet described them as two estates, consisting of four dwelling-houses, out-houses, over 160 customary acres of farm land, and 60 acres of wood; and as being all freehold, except a part of High Close. With them went the seigniory, or lordship, of three customary holdings and tenements in Loughrigg, paying an annual lord's rent and arbitrary fines.

This accounts for seven houses in the two freeholds, four to be sold out and out, along with the lordship of three more. Of these seven, three at most exist now; and it is doubtful if the present cottage adjacent to Fold, called Crag Head, ever was a part of the freehold. The site of one vanished house which lay in Nutsdale, two fields off the Fold, is known.

The "capital messuage" of the freeholder too was swept away.* It had become an encumbrance even when partitioned into two, and the new owner, who figures in the township books from 1797 as "George Law, Esq.," had no use for it. Green drew it, gaunt and neglected, and printed his sketch in his set of houses published 1822. It was soon to vanish. First its oak fittings were stripped and carried away to embellish modern houses; and then—further back than the memory of the aged thereabout can reach—it was pulled down. An ancient cottage that stood at right angles with it was demolished later; and nothing is now left of the once flourishing hamlet but one humble homestead, and low walls and two old yew trees. The old man whose forefathers have long dwelt hard by

* Its superiority over the ordinary statesman's dwelling is shown by Francis having paid in 1663 or 1664 a tax on four hearths; Edward Benson of High Close paying only on two, and George of High Close on the usual one. In 1665, however, Francis declared no more than three, but on inspection was charged on two more "fraudelently stopt up," which meant that they had been hastily closed in view of the inspector's visit. In 1727 Francis Benson paid a tax on nine windows.

LOUGHRIGG FOLD.

Herbert Bell, photo. BY WILLIAM GREEN, 1822. TO FACE P. 178.

has a tale to tell, not only of the former "smidy," but of a Baptist meeting-house that once stood here, and he will even point out the spot where the "dipping" place was. But this is hard to understand; and may be a myth that has arisen from the nonconforming strain of the freehold Bensons of the Fould.

High Close.—Before leaving this quarter of Loughrigg, something must be said about the neighbouring High Close, which came to the hammer with the Fould, but of which much less evidence is available. It was long the home of wealthy Bensons, and it was, as we have seen, the most part of it a freehold. It is extremely likely that it figures in the 1575 purchase of freehold as the large tenement (rent 15s. 4d.) then held by Mabel Benson, widow, and John Benson; and which was taken over by Edward, clothier, as his share of the purchase. From that time the name Edward constantly appears as representative of the chief family at High Close, as does that of Francis at the Fould, and Thomas at Coat How; though that there was a subsidiary family here also is shown by tax-papers and by the church register, which gives the baptisms of children of an Oliver and a James in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and of a Thomas towards the close. The first Edward we know of, the new freeholder "of the Hei close," had a large family, the first recorded birth being that of George in 1575. Edward is expressly termed "clothier" in the freehold deed, but we have no evidence of a mill there; while there is indirect evidence of trade of another kind.

High Close stands on the crest of the pass between the Rothay and the Brathay valleys, where they converge, yet are still separated by the mass of Loughrigg. The modern tourist, gaining its vantage ground on the solitary road, and surveying the glorious prospect spread out far away and below it, would hardly suppose this to be a likely place for a shop. Yet such, if we read the Subsidy

Rolls of the Stuart times aright, it was; and Edward Benson a successful store or shop keeper.*

The old Subsidy imposed a tax on all moveable goods (including merchandise) as well as on land; though both classes of property were exempt that did not reach a certain value. Also the inhabitants of the northern counties were frequently excused from the tax on goods, because of their liability to depredations of the Scotch.† For this reason, or because their chattels were few, the statesmen and small freeholders of these parts managed to escape or evade the tax. The rolls show only, for each township (besides the non-communicants tax) the names of the principal landowners, and of one other man—or occasionally two, if the township was scattered as Langdale—who was apparently the store keeper, and who could not therefore bring his moveable goods below the fixed value.

The shop indeed was from early times an accredited feature of the manor, as were the fulling-mill and the brewery; and we hear of one shop in Grasmere paying a rent to the lord of 2d. in 1493-4.‡ In the Subsidy Roll of 1625, we find, in the three townships of Grasmere, John Knott taxed in Grasmere proper on £4 worth of goods; in Langdale, Charles Middelfell senior and Regnald Willis "de Steele end" respectively on £3 worth; and in Rydal and Loughrigge, Edward Benson "de high close," on £3 worth, for which he paid 8s. od. This is repeated in the subsidy of the second year of Charles I.; while in that of 1641 George Benson takes the place of Edward as tax-payer, paying on goods valued at £4, the sum of £1 1s. 4d. By 1661 however, the Bensons had lost their monopoly in the township as storekeepers, and it had passed to Reginald Brathwaite of Clappersgate.

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* Of the subsidies, only a few are represented by rolls among the Rydal Hall MSS.

† See *History of Taxes*, by Stephen Dowell.

‡ Rental of Richmond fee, Sizergh Castle.

In 1653 Edward "of the hie Close" bought a tenement for £29, rent 1s. 8d., called Milbeck, in Great Langdale, which was stated in the deed to be "of the inheritance of the said Edward gentleman," as well as in his occupation.* No doubt this was the corn-mill for the valley, which would be a considerable source of wealth to the holder; and in which (or in lands belonging to it) the Bensons of Elterwater seem to have had some share (see *ante*). From this time the family at High Close are found in close connection with this property; and the "Benson Estate" at Milnbeck was represented in the church by wardens of the name in 1790, 1811, and in 1833, when an Edward closed the record.

It was on returning from the mill on a July day of 1662, in company with his neighbour William Harrison of Ellers, and discussing the mysterious death of Dixon of Middlefell-place, who had been found dead on the fells the previous April, that Edward Benson heard the astounding statement from his companion, "We killed him," upon which he felt bound to act.†

This branch of the family remained apparently well-to-do; though Edward is found repaying Squire Daniel Fleming a borrowed £20 10s. 0d. in 1674. An Edward who in 1747 was admitted tenant at the Court of the Richmond fee, of that portion of his father Edward's estate at High Close that was not freehold, in 1754 gave £6 13s. 4d. to the poor of Grasmere. The property may have been divided among relatives, and some of it sold, for while the "Benson estate" at Milbeck and the "Benson estate" at the High Close were represented in the township's books as late as 1813-14, the principal part of the latter had some time before passed to strangers. A certain Mr. John Langton, who owned also Coat-how,

* This means, apparently, that he secured the customary tenure of a house that had previously been in his freehold, as well as previously let to him by the customary holder.

† Rydal Hall Papers.

and probably Fould, possessed it in 1756;* and when in 1784 Samuel Kenyon, the second husband of a Mrs. Langton, is found writing to Sir Michael le Fleming about the sale of Coat How, he remarks that he would have no objection to selling High Close likewise; though, from the fact that it was partly freehold, and partly customary, it would be difficult to fix a price; £2,000, however, might be suggested. Sir Michael did not buy it, and after the public sale before mentioned it passed, with the Fould, into the hands of George Low or Law. In 1833 it belonged to John Law Beetholme, and afterwards to Mr. James Greenwood, whose son sold it to Mr. Wheatley Balme in 1857. The house, unlike most of the freeholders' dwellings, survived the period of decadence, and has become by additions a beautiful residence in the centre of a fair estate.

Miller Bridge.—Under this name a good deal of ancient history lies buried. It has come to mean a house standing pleasantly on the slope of Loughrigg by the Rothay, and a stone footbridge hard by, that arches the river for the passengers who travel the field path from Ambleside. Now this bridge is a modern construction, which aged memory can reach beyond. Formerly a ford and a rough set of stepping stones crossed the water, while a smaller set (strangely known as the Little Miller) crossed Stock-beck on the same path. Both sets are mentioned by Green in his Guide, published 1819, and they are remembered by Mrs. Clay, the owner of Miller Bridge house. At the larger set a former owner of High Miller Bridge was drowned.

Yet there can be little doubt that once upon a time a miller cut his dam hereabouts, planted his wheel upon the race, and set up his plank or "stang" bridge, by which to cross it. And for that miller we must look earlier than Barnard Benson, clothier, of Miller Bridge, who lived in

* His name appears indeed in the official list of freeholders for the township, along with Sir William Fleming's, in 1754.

STEPPING STONES ON THE STOCK BECK NEAR MILLER BRIDGE:

J. Harden, pinxit: Herbert Bell, photo. "THE LITTLE MILLER." TO FACE P. 182.

Queen Elizabeth's time. There may have been here, originally, the manorial corn-mill spoken of in 1453,* where the tenants of Loughrigg (who were not of the Rydal manor) might grind their corn. One plot of High Miller Bridge is called Kiln How; and a kiln almost always accompanied a mill, for the drying of malt; or it is possible that we have here the site of an ancient brewery. However, we know that by 1493 † there was no corn-mill in the little division of Loughrigg, and that folk on the Rothay side of it must have carried their grain into Ambleside or Rydal. On the other hand, it very early possessed a walk-mill, and the John Walker, who paid 3s. 4d. at the end of the fourteenth century to the lord of the Lindesey fee for the privilege, may have carried on his industry here. If so, the position would be maintained, for the increase of trade had caused the erection of two new walk-mills in Loughrigg by 1506, and in the same Fee.

But if we attempt to reconstruct mill and dam at this spot, we are baffled. The topography of the place is entirely changed; and neither river nor road takes its ancient course. The former made a wide sweep across the flat to the left, almost touching the modern church of Ambleside, and returned again near the back drive of Miller Bridge house. The curve, all the way from where the rill from Brow Head (Mossy Sike) falls into the main water, and where the Scandale and Stock becks pour into it their confluent streams on the other side, was a place of marshes, pools, and islands; and all of it was associated by name with the miller and his bridge. The flat ground within the river's ancient curve is still known as Miller Field. Brigg Holme Dub was a pool thereabouts bathed in by an Ambleside man still living.

And from Mossy Sike the road, which now hugs the artificial and built-up course of the river, formerly rose by a gentle slope through the present grounds of Loughrigg

* Ministers' Account. Bundle, 644. No. 10444.
† Rental at Sizergh Castle.

Brow—well above the marshy flat—to round the corner to Clappersgate. Below the road therefore, and not above it, lay the miller's precincts, which stretched to the edge of the curving river, and were thus enclosed between river and road. Besides the names on the flatter portion of this plot we have on the rising ground those of High Miller Bridge and Low Miller Bridge, as well as Housesteads beyond, which were used to differentiate the various homesteads that grew up upon it. The mill-stream doubtless ran below these houses, striking a straight line across the wide river-curve. If so, it was the swampy ditch remembered by Mrs. Clay as lying alongside the newly constructed road below the houses; and it may have suggested to Mr. Branker, the owner of Croft, Clappersgate, that canal-like "cut" by which he altered the entire course of the river for this length. This he did some time before 1840.*

Real history begins however with Barnard Benson, clothier, who in 1575 is found to hold a messuage, tenement and farmhold called "Milner bridge" in Loughrigg, of the high lord's rent of 9s. 0d., which carried with it land and wood between the "watter off Rotha" and the hedge of Rydal demesne, called Dale (or Vale) briggstead and the Islands. This, as we have seen, was part of the great purchase of freehold in Loughrigg made by Barnard and his partners Michael and Edward. And Barnard took along with it the freehold of three other homesteads adjacent; namely, one called Cockstone, rent 2s. 4d., in the holding of Barnard himself and of Margaret Wilson, widow of Robert; another called Foxhowe, rent 3s. 5d., in the holding of Richard Robinson; a third also called Foxhowe, rent 9d., held by Willing Dickson, which carried with it an island that lay between Rotha and the

* See Dr. Arnold's Journal of this date, given in his Life. Mr. Branker came to Croft about 1827. Aged memory makes the "cut" about 1834. The Rothay has been further mauled in the writer's time, hereabouts; and the rocky ledge, over which the river broke and fell on the return from the curve, has been blasted away.

hedge of Rydal demesne.* Of these Cockstone—subsequently known as Low Cockstone, to distinguish it from the Cockstone higher up the river, that belonged to the Richmond fee—can be traced to the present Loughrigg Holm; Foxhowe, long the home of the Robinsons, is the farm above Dr. Arnold's house; and the smaller house may be the vanished Kits Gill hard by; or the vanished Con Nest, higher up the slope.

It will be seen therefore that Barnard's acquisition of freehold embraced almost the whole bank of the Rothay from Loughrigg Holm to Clappersgate, with the exception of Fox Gill, Brow Head, and the plot upon which probably his own mill stood, and the homesteads called High and Low Miller Bridge; for these belonged, not to the lordship of Rydal, but to that of the Richmond fee, and were therefore unattainable in freehold.

Though the ubiquity of the names Miller and Brigg argues an early origin, Barnard's purchase certainly spread them. Beyond the central plot that lay between river and road (and which so strangely was divided in lordship) we find Miller Brow and Miller Hagg, while the homesteads of his freehold—even Cockstone—came later to be lumped together in rentals as Miller Bridge.

Barnard however did not succeed in founding a family at Miller Bridge. Beyond his purchase, nothing is known of him personally, except that he was concerned in the transfer of a moiety of the advowson of Windermere (formerly belonging to Charles Benson of Skelwith, merchant) to Thomas Benson of Hugill and James Brathwaite of Ambleside Hall. His bond, in the possession of Mr. George Browne, bears the date 1578. His residence was apparently on the plot called House-steads, where stood once a "capital messuage" which after the dispersion of his property remained (along with Great Field

* This is still occasionally an island. Hereabouts lay the great pool called Holm Dub, regularly fished by the lords of Rydal.

adjoining and a few portions probably held in his hand) a freehold.

A subsequent deed tells us that his son Francis lost or sold the whole of his little lordship, and that it passed into the hands of one Rowland Jackson, who sold it to Squire John Fleming of Rydal Hall. Thus in one generation was one portion of the Loughrigg freehold, that had been sold in 1575, regained by the Flemings. The customary holders of the farmsteads upon it attended Squire John's court in 1638, and (as he wrote on their papers of admission to his manor) "did atturne unto me." Housesteads seems to have been kept in the lord's hands. Rowland Jackson was apparently living there in 1629. Afterwards, Edward Harrison, nephew and agent of Squire John Fleming, died there. It was doubtless in his time that papers were carried thither from Rydal Hall. In 1654, when Sir Jordan Crosland (who married the eldest of John's daughters) gave evidence in court during the law suit that ensued with the next male heir of the Flemings, he stated "there are many old deeds and writings at Millerbrig, Co. Westmorland, wch belonged to John Fleming," and he promised to search them for the evidence wanting.* In the settlement of the disputed estates, it was decided that as the Miller Bridge freehold had been purchased by John, and not inherited by him, it passed to his daughters, while the inherited property passed to his cousin Daniel, son of William of Skirwith. We find it therefore next in possession of the daughters' husbands, Sir Jordan Crosland and George Collingwood, and they sold it 1667 to William Birkett of Troutbeck Park for £400. In the "Deed of Milner Bridge Tenement and 4 other Tenements in Loughrigg" † the various holdings comprised in it are enumerated, and it winds up with the close called

* Rydal Hall MSS.

† In the possession of Mr. George Browne.

Ellethow or Jenkinfield, and a parcel of meadow adjoining the Rothay "both which were sometime heretofore in the possession of one Francis Benson being purchased in Fee by Barnard Benson his Father dec^{d} and since purchased by one Rowland Jackson who sold the same to John Flemin of Ridall, Esquire."

William Birkett no doubt bought as a speculation,* and it is probable that he cleared away at least a portion of the clothier's now neglected homestead; for we find Squire Daniel Fleming buying from him slates for the great new barn he was erecting across the river in the Low Park of Rydal.

1673 Feb. Paid unto Willia Birket for slate had of him from Miller bridge to my new Corne Barne ... ... 01^{li} . 00^{s} . 00^{d}

Squire Daniel had always resented the sale of the Loughrigg freeholds by his great grandfather William, and he before long found opportunity (carefully watched for, no doubt) for securing the Miller Bridge portion of it, which now for the second time was regained by the owner of Rydal Manor as a fee.

1673. June 16. Paid unto my brother Willia Fleming for ye purchase of his Rent, Land, & estate at Miller-bridge, and all in Loughrigg ... ... 50^{li} . 00^{s} . 0^{d}

From that time the rents accruing, both customary and free, are found to be paid to him as lord, and amount to 7s. 9d. a year. House-steads being "free" paid 1d. and a peppercorn. How long a dwelling-house existed on it is not known. It passed through many hands, as did Low Miller Bridge; and when in 1669 William Mackereth of the Causey in Ambleside sold it for £12 to Robert Holme, it is called a part of that capital messuage and tenement "at the Milner Bridge, once belonging to Sir

* Rowland Jackson had apparently done the same, for Sir William Fleming, when allowing the transfer of Fox How in 1732, speaks of him, the "then Lord of Fox how," as having sold the woods upon it.

Jordan Crossland and George Collingwood, Esq., and lately in the tenure of Wil. Birkett of Troutbecke parke and purchased by William Mackereth from William Birkett." Later (in 1721) John Troughton of Pull sold it for £15 to Elizabeth Park, widow, and it is then stated that due and proper possession was given her "by the Delivery of the Hasp of the dwelling-house door and a clod of Earth and a Twigg of wood in the said Close in the name of Seisin and in Lieu of all the within granted p^re^misses."

Elizabeth in 1723 passed it on to James Winder for £42 10s.; and he sold it in 1759 to Mrs. Ann Myles, the widow of Jonathan the Ambleside curate, for £71. The son who inherited it, John Ellis Myles, who continued the free rent of 1d. to Rydal, died a bachelor in 1777; and his sister, Mrs. Hutton, sold it in 1814 to Mrs. Harden of Brathay Hall, who had already acquired Low Miller Bridge.

Both Low and High Miller Bridge, customary holdings of the Richmond fee, had meantime also fallen on evil days. During the eighteenth century they figure largely in the births and deaths of the Grasmere register; and as late as 1721 the family of Benson was represented there by a William. But by 1820 one solitary cottage stood at Low Miller Bridge, the sole relic of the once flourishing hamlet. Mr. Harden, son of the purchaser, built on to this cottage the house that is now known as Miller Bridge, and there his daughter still resides. House-steads is a vacant field, with traces of an old road crossing it, and a bank buttressed with stone.

Coat-how.—The homestead at the foot of Gate Crag in Loughrigg, standing between the two ancient fords of the Rothay, and opposite to the lower houses in Rydal, was held in the third quarter of the sixteenth century by Michael Benson, "clothier." That he was a rich man is certain, for in the joint purchase of freehold in Loughrigg in 1575, he acquired eight houses besides his own; and

MILLER BRIDGE, 1843.

J. Harden, pinxit : Herbert Bell, photo.

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we have seen that John Benson, of Little Langdale, who was at "variance" with him, was alarmed lest he should procure the manor of Baisbrowne, when John was forced to sell it in 1577.

Of these eight holdings in Loughrigg, three stood at the Fould; but the rest are difficult to determine, for they seem almost all to have been swept away. Two of them respectively rented at 5s. 9d. and 11d. and held at that time by Greiges, almost certainly stood in or near the present Grigg Field, which lies between Coat-how and Pelter Bridge. The site of one, probably the smaller of the two and subsequently known as Low-house, can be distinguished. The larger one may have survived as the present Field Foot, which emerges in 1773 as a freehold, paying a peppercorn rent to the lord. The Jopson farmhold of 2s. 10½d. rent, which included the vanished island of that name in the river, as well (probably) as Jopson Close by the lake, may have stood on the other side of Coat-how, in Steps End field, where some traces of a building may be seen; and possibly it was the "Steps End, Rydal," from which a birth was recorded as late as 1792. If the fourth—then in the holding of Richard Hawkrigge, rent 2s.—was again beyond this, it must have been the Heald, another vanished homestead whose ruins stand at the Waterhead of Rydal, and whose lands emerge later as a broken-up freehold. All these then Michael acquired from the manor of Rydal. And stretching beyond these again, was the freehold of Bainrigg, a portion of which was doubtless his, as we find it presently in the hands of his successors; there he must have worked the walk-mill established in the reign of Edward IV., as his predecessor John Benson worked it.

Michael, who had married one of the daughters of the rich Barnard of the Fould, was followed by his son Edward—possibly the Edward, son of Michael "of Loughrigg," baptized in 1574. Michael was dead in

1592; for a deed of that year * which mortgages a close in Loughrigg near the "watterhead of Rydale" held by John Hauckrigg, son of Richard, to Squire William Fleming, declared it to be "of ye inheritance of Edward Benson, son of Michael Benson, dec." Edward of the "Coothow" buried his infant children Jane and Michael in 1601 and 1602; and it was probably he who was buried in 1623, under the description "of Loughrigg."

Edward was succeeded at Coat-how in the main line by several Thomases †; and signs are not wanting of a decreasing prosperity in this branch of the family, as in others. While a certain John Benson was paying a yearly interest of £1 12s. on a mortgage of his tenement in Baisbrowne to Squire John Fleming in 1631, the same lender holds the bond of Thomas Benson, of Coat-how, for a large loan on Bainriggs. The interest paid on this in 1631 was £8, and two years later an entry in the account-book shows that Thomas was making an effort to pay off the principal. It runs ". . . . besides fiftie pounds more in tysons hand wch he rec: of Tho. benson for Bainriges." But the effort was vain. In 1637 Thomas parted with this old possession of the family to the mortgagee for £100, including all woods, fordings, floodings, &c. The walk-mill was doubtless unremunerative by this time, and was probably later turned into a saw-mill.

The small farmholds, too, round Coat-how, which paid lord's rents to its owner, were lapsing into decay. We find Thomas of "Coatehow" agreeing to sell two of them to Edward Greig of Rydal, who held the property on the other side of the river now called Rydal Cottage. There is no date on the paper, which is only a draft,‡ but as

* Rydal Hall MSS.

† That there was a subsidiary household here too is certain; for an Edward of Coat-how, whose wife died in 1638, was buried in 1699; and in 1655 Sir Daniel Fleming, while holding a bond of Thomas of Coat-how for over £30, lends George of the same place 12s. "upon his word and his cow."

‡ Rydal Hall MSS.

Edward died in 1672 or 1673, it must have been before that time. The two little farmholds are described as Jopson House, with Jopson Island, rent 1s. 2d. and Low-house, rent 9d.; and as no present holders of them are mentioned, we may surmise them to be already derelict, and in the hands of their lord. If the third farmhold be Field Foot, the lordship of it was sold before 1773, when it is found to be a freehold possessed by William Harrison.

By 1674 Thomas of Coat-how was in difficulties; for we find him paying to Squire Daniel Fleming 7s. 6d. for consent to a mortgage. Now this is singular, as such a tax or fine could only be demanded of a customary tenant by his lord. Perhaps Thomas was raising money on the piece of Bainrigg he acquired from Squire John Fleming's daughters, but failed to keep.

He was soon however to mend his fortune by marriage. He had lost his wife Susan in 1669, and on October 31, 1674—the year after his title of "gentleman" was printed in Blome's *Brittania*—he wedded Jane Fleming of Rydal. She was of the substantial statesman family who combined with their farm-hold the trades of inn-keeping and carpentry or wood-turning. She brought to her husband wealth in kind; and they were not above receiving the usual village merry-making at their wedding. The squire of Rydal solemnly enters in his account book:—

Sent by my wife to Tho. Benson's wife home-bringing 00lb 01s 06d

And in the following February he goes to the sale of the Fleming farm stock.

Paid unto Tho. Benson of Coathow (wh was bought at his wife's Sale) for 59 old sheep & 17 Hogs 9lb, for Hay 34s, & for Oates & Stray 1lb 9s 7½d, in all vid. Acq. 12lb 03s 07½d

The same careful document records Thomas's death for September 28th of 1687, and his burial next day; his wife Jane had died in 1681.

The next Thomas was at once involved in a bond with the squire of Rydal; but it is satisfactory to find that he

was able in 1693 to pay £5 on a bill three days before due. And the family somehow scraped through, and maintained at least their homestead as a freehold. That it was of some dignity for those times is shown by the fact that Thomas (returned as freeholder in 1709) was taxed in 1727 for nine windows.

It seems that this Thomas's wife Dorothy may have been a rich woman. She was at least a good churchwoman, as her three gifts of plate to Grasmere Church attest. One was a cup, given when the church plate was renewed in 1714; another an alms-dish, given 1729; the third a paten with the makers' date only on it, 1731-2.* Strangely enough, all three bear, along with her name, different coats of arms, though each of the three is an attempt after coats of different families of Bensons given in Burke. We must conclude therefore that Mrs. Dorothy was undetermined as to the heraldic device her husband was entitled to carry, and left the matter to the silversmith, who only in the alms-dish engraved the three trefoils on a bend which the Baisbrowne Bensons had borne, and to which probably the Coat-how branch had the best claim.

She and her husband, to judge from mention made of them in the Rydal Hall correspondence of that period, were esteemed gentlefolk, and associated with the families of property in the neighbourhood. She died in 1732; and when her husband died also, there was no heir to follow. The place seems to have been sold to the Mr. John Langton who acquired also the greater part of the Benson freeholds at High Close and Fould; and we find him writing in 1756 concerning the alteration of the road across Grigg Field. In 1785 Mrs. Langton, widow, sold it with all lands for £850 (after asking one thousand guineas) to Sir Michael Fleming.

From that time, until Crow How Farm was built, it

* *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle.*

was used as the Rydal demesne farm, which had previously been close behind the Hall. Later it was let as two cottages. Its great, comfortable house-place sheltered the first Rydal Sunday School, as well as the village day-school: till some inspector, finding it not of the regulation type of building, caused it to be closed, when the few children were despatched to Ambleside. Until 1902 it stood picturesquely, its wide porch opening on the path to the ford, and its half-timbered back abutting on the slope of rock behind; while the great barn flanked it to the south. It has now been transformed into what the builder would describe as a commodious dwelling-house, fitted up for modern requirements.

Bainrigg and The Heald.—The fortunes of the first and only ancient freehold of Bainrigg, as they are concerned with the scheme of this paper, have been sufficiently given. It finally passed from the Bensons in 1637 as we have seen, and it was treated from that time, by the owners of Rydal Hall, as customary lands in their demesne. When Daniel Fleming assumed the lordship, the dwelling-houses upon it, though still described as two tenements, had probably disappeared. Nothing is left of the home of the de Bainbriggs, who once paid half-a-pound of cumin yearly to the distant lord of the fee; and of the once busy walk-mill not one stone stands on another. Thick woodland spread over the whole, and the recent discovery of the bed of the old mill-race by the woodman seemed at first a mystery.

It is interesting that a tradition still exists of the Bensons having once possessed the place; and indeed the family held its own about this quarter of the parish, between the two lakes, until quite recent times. At Taile End * they were but customary holders, but John there built a substantial house, with his initials and date

* Where the township of Grasmere "tails" off. Sir Daniel Fleming speaks of the "tail end" of his manor of Beckermet.

1661, which stands to this day; and of his large family George, who was churchwarden in 1700, followed him.

Beyond Taile End was Nichols, a home of the Bensons at least since 1675, when a George of the place married Margaret Jackson, and had children baptized till 1682. It has vanished, though its site is recorded in Nichols Field, by the lake; and the house stood just at the fork of the roads that cross the fell into Langdale by Hunting Stile and Red Bank, in a position very favourable for an inn, which tradition says that it was. Jane Benson, widow, is cited as a Quaker, and non-payer of rates, in the years 1705, 1706, 1707, and again in 1712, when she is stated to be of Nichols in Grasmere. Perhaps she was widow of Francis, who appears in a list of unlicensed ale-house keepers of 1678, and the last of that line.

On the near side of Taile End, within the boundary of Loughrigg, was the freehold of the Heald, where the Bensons retained a portion of land till little more than forty years ago. At the time its name is first mentioned, this estate had already been broken up, and its arable fields secured by the wealthier statesmen of the neighbourhood, and worked with their farms; Mr. Roberts, of Ellers in Loughrigg, to this day owns the intack of Patrach Close. One branch of the Bensons, however, managed to hold on to the rocky arm that reaches down to the former ford, where the old homestead (yet discernible in ruins) once stood, and from which the child of a tenant had been baptized as late as 1737. This portion was possessed in 1799 by a John Benson.* It was probably his widow who in 1810 is found in possession (besides Fishgarths and lands about Clappersgate) of Heald Coppice,† and to whom the quarrymen (or slate-rivers) working at White-moss paid by agreement 2d. a year, for permission to pass from Loughrigg and Langdale (where they lived) to their work through her "coppice at Heald"; thus ensuring that

* Highway book for township of Rydal and Loughrigg.
† Valuation book for same.

the direct path they would strike from Red Bank to the ford did not become a public one. The wooden bridge put up probably at that time is still called Slater's Bridge. In 1837 and 1843 a William Benson was in possession of the same.* But in 1866 the long ownership ceased. John Benson, leather factor, of Liverpool, and Isaac Benson, book-keeper, of Kirkby Lonsdale, then executed a deed of sale with the trustees of the Rydal Hall estate, by which there passed from the family that last parcel of land, "known as Oakrigg at Heald." But in reality it is called to this day, Benson's Coppice; and so preserves the name of the family in a quarter of the parish where for four hundred years they were freeholders.

Conclusion.

It is difficult to assign causes for the loss of that trade which once brought prosperity to our valleys, and made from fullers and clothiers, freeholders whose names were entered among the lists of gentry. The woollen trade, though it may have existed earlier, received a strong impulse in this district, as we have seen, in the reign of Edward IV., and it was also in that period that the Bensons first acquired land by the Rothay at Bainrigg. By the time that Henry VII. ascended the throne great strides had been made in the industry, and a Brathwaite is found (by rentals) to be working one of the walk-mills of Ambleside, and a partnership of three Bensons enclosing fell-land in Langdale. Probably the height of prosperity was reached in Henry VIII's reign; but in Elizabeth's—though the clothiers were still investing their money in land—the beginning of the decline had come, and Grasmere mills at least were found too many. The well-known Kendal cloth was no longer held in such esteem by the London citizen and apprentice; a new fashion and new colour perhaps had arisen; and smoother

* Rate and Valuation books.

textures caught the fancy of the purchaser. Then to that languishing London trade the death-blow was probably struck by the plague, which appeared in our valleys in 1577. The first outbreak lasted over a year. A second came in 1597 and 1598, which was more severely felt in the towns, 2,500 people being carried off in Kendal alone.* It is impossible, from the ill-kept registers of Grasmere, where whole months and even years are found wanting in the plague period, to arrive at any reliable conclusion as to the reduction of the population in the parish; but when we find twelve burials entered in November, 1578, and again (December being blank) ten for the following January, it is clear that this was considerable. † Indeed, the tradition of the plague remains to this day in Langdale (where it seems to have raged the worst) strong and fixed. Several versions of the story of its introduction are told, and a little mound overgrown with trees is pointed out where a cottage once stood, whose inmates sickened and died, and were left till the walls fell in ruins upon them. Such a tale implies great callousness and fright on the part of the neighbours, or else a visitation of such severity that the few who remained sound were unequal to cope with it. The Langdale folk indeed found themselves unable to carry the dead of the valley to the consecrated earth of their church at Grasmere; for a little plot of ground under bleak Lingmoor, ringed round with broken walls, and overgrown with alien laurels, is shown as the place where these were buried. It was perhaps here that the Hawkshead man was laid, about whom there is so strange an entry in the register, on January 8th, 1578,‡ and whose death by plague is attested by the asterisk preceding it:—

* See inscription in Penrith Church.

† Eighty-six burials took place at Hawkshead in 1577, as against forty-eight of the previous year. In 1597 again there were eighty-four. (*Hawkshead Parish Registers*, by Mr. H. S. Cowper).

‡ See *Hawkshead Registers*, by Mr. H. S. Cowper.

Anthony Dixson buried in Langdall the last day of December and taken up agayne and brought to Hauxhead the xjth day of January.

This bespeaks wanton and wilful risk, rather than fright. The plot lies beyond the homesteads of Baisbrowne and Oakhow ; and the now disused road that ran past them to Side House, and the last recess of the valley, must for long have been shunned as poisoned and haunted.

The ruined walls that stretch everywhere around this barren, rocky slope of sepulchre speak of the effort of a previous age to make the soil produce more than it could, and of a sudden collapse of man in his struggle with nature. The valleys no doubt, under the stimulus of the cloth trade, had become—unless food had been imported —over populated ; and the markings of the plough which some fields reveal to us on patches that now yield but a scanty pasture of grass, point doubtless to some cottar's efforts to grow a sufficiency of oats for his household bread. In the valley of the Rothay these furrows are in several instances found in the neighbourhood of vanished homesteads.

The plague too would find an easy victim in the weaver, whose sedentary life weakened a frame often under-fed ; and the small cottage homes where his loom was plied ceaselessly during the hours of light would be the first and the worst stricken. And the web just finished, or that hung unfinished in the loom where his hand fell from it, who would buy ? Michael Benson and his fellow clothiers, of Loughrigg, must indeed have had work about the years 1577-80 to find cloth enough to keep their pack-horses a-march to the market ; and how shy would purchasers be to take goods from a stricken district ! There is a tradition, indeed, that pictures in a lively manner the disorganization of trade that the recurring epidemic produced. A great, flat-topped stone on Armboth common is called to this day the Web-stone, because thither (it is said) the websters or weavers

carried their webs to be sold, since all markets in the towns were closed while the plague raged, and terror kept men away from dwellings.

There is then reasonable ground for fixing the decline of the cloth trade, and the shrinkage of population that followed hard upon it, to the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century; and we have seen how many owners of walk-mills and master-fullers fell about that time into difficulties, and lost their freehold estates, while many customary farmsteads on their freeholds fell into neglect and ruin. The Kendal trade in woollen cloths was not indeed entirely lost. The little Westmorland town bravely sought another market, and instead of clothing the London citizen with her so-called "cottons," sent them off to the new tobacco plantations of Virginia, for the planter to dress his slaves in them. And Sir John Lowther, who erected the port of Whitehaven on the Cumberland coast, tried to secure for it the consignment of the Kendal goods abroad, as his correspondence with Sir Daniel Fleming shows*; only the Westmorland clothiers, accustomed from immemorial times to export wool and cloth by York and Hull, and by Newcastle, hung back for long from a venture on the western coast. Still, the pack-horse track that may be traced along Greenburn Bottom and the ridge falling northwards to Borrowdale, may be the mark of an effort to divert a trade route westward, and to avoid the toll always exacted on Dunmail Raise.

Kendal recovered her trade in part, but our valleys did not. The canny folk, reduced in numbers, turned their energies to other channels. Fullers became tanners; old walk-wheels turned carding-mills, and presently bark-mills, saw-mills, and bobbin-mills; even paper-mills were run in Ambleside and Troutbeck. Of the carding-mills, which "teased" the rough wool ready for the home-

* See Rydal Hall MSS.

spinners, in place of the hand-cards, there were two, according to tradition, under Loughrigg, one of them being at Fox Gill. And still the hand-loom clicked in the homesteads, making the rough grey cloth needed for the folk of the valleys, which was carried to the Monday market at Hawkshead to be sold; till the days of machinery came, slaying even that small trade.

The Benson clan, that had appeared and spread with the cloth trade, shrank and died out with it. In the township of Grasmere alone, there were in 1603 at least seven Bensons who were customary landholders *; by 1675 they had diminished to four †; in 1835 not one was left. ‡ The few inhabitants remaining in the valley of the name are remembered as wallers, who moved about the country side as business called them. To a bridge built by one of them near an old Benson homestead in Far Easedale the name Willie-good-waller is still attached; and a Benson born in this homestead is said to have died not longer than twelve years ago in Keswick.

But dire poverty had by this time fallen on our district, as the books of the Overseers of the Poor show; and the rapidly diminishing class of statesmen, who followed husbandry on their holdings, struggled in vain to support their paupers by rates, and fell themselves in the struggle. But with them our paper has nothing to do. The tourists, who, on first coming, found our valleys desolate, are filling them now with a population that brings its money from afar.

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* Court Roll 207, 111. Public Record Office.

† Rental. Mr. G. Browne's MSS.

‡ List of landholders possessed by Edward Wilson. To him, whose long connection with the church of Grasmere, and whose excellent memory make him an authority for the recent past, I am indebted for many particulars.

APPENDIX I.

[1571]. RYDAL HALL MSS. PARCHMENT.

Articles of Agrement maid ye xiiijth yeare of the Reigne of our sovaigne laidy Elizabeth by the grace of god of ingland france and Ireland quene Defender of the faith (2 letters) Betwene John Benson of langdaill in the countye of Westm^{r}land gentleman of thone p'tys, And mychaell Benson of loughrigge clothier John Benson of elterwatter Edward Jackson of baisbrowne John Mealfell of the same & Ryā wilson of ye wallend in langdaill Ten^{n}ts to ye said John Benson as well in the Ryghte of them selven as all oth^{r} the said John Ten^{n}ts of baisbrowne elterwatter oakhowe or enye of them of thoth^{r} p'tye witnesseth y^{t} ye said p'tyes are fully concluded & agreid in man^{r} & forme folowinge vzth

First it is agred betwene ye said p'ties y^{t} neith^{r} the said John Benson nor his heires nor assignes shall hereafter at any tyme or tymes claim calfor chalendge aske require nor demand of them the said ten^{n}tes now beinge or of other ten^{n}tes to him or his heires hereafter to be or of anye of them any fine Income or grissome but onlye at the change of lord or Ten^{n}te The ten^{n}te rent solie to be dowbled and y^{t} ye said Ten^{n}tes nor anye of them may or shall he^{r} aft^{er} pay anye furth^{er} fine incom or grissome to the landes lord or lordes but only as ys aforesaid And for the Ratifyinge of this agrement the said John Benson for him his heirs executors & administrators covenanteth & by theis p^{re}ntes granteth That he ye said John his heires & assignes shall at all tymes hereaft^{er} allow maintaine & support the same agrement to stande & be one accustome & so to continew from hensforth for ever betwene lord & ten^{n}ts ther And that the said John Benson his heires or assignes shall sealle & deliv^{r} to the said mychaell Benson & others aforenamed ther exectours or assignes to the use of them and all other the said ten^{n}ts wthin the space of two yeares next insewinge the dait of theis articles upon one month of warning & monicion gyven to the said John his heires or assignes by the said Mychaell or any other aforenamed the executoures or assignes of them or anye of them all suche Writinge and assurance as shalbe demised or advised by the said Michael Benson others aforenamed anye of them or their counsell learned for the P'fitte & assure coroberacon confirmacon & establishment of this said agrement to be & contynew one acustome in man^{r} & forme aforesaid for ever

Also ye said John Benson by theis p^{re}nts Covenantith granteth bargaineth and selleth unto ye said Mychaell Benson others afornamed to thuse of them & all others the said ten^{n}ts all & singuler

such woddes as are growing or herafter shall grow wthin baisbrowne elterwater & oakhow wthin the tearme of such grant as they shall or may have & purchaise at thandes of the said John of the said wooddes to have use occupye cuttdoune and carry away at theire pleasure all & singuler the said wooddes as they amongest them selves shall agreye (excepted & ress^{er}vid) fourtie oak^{es} wch be now marked & appointed for ye lordes buildinges and thoise to be taken & cut-down at ye pleasure of ye lord his heires or assignes Also (for prised & excepted) to thuse of the said lord and his heires fourtye loides of fyer wodde yearly during the said grant to be cutt downe within suche places as shall please the said Ten^{n}tes to cutt ye same And lykewise exceptid all such oakes as are now already marked for timber to stand & Remaine on the grond there as they now grow or be unto suche tyme as ye said ten^{n}tes [shall ?] neide thos for ther buildinges and ye same oakes to be taken and cutdowne as the said ten^{n}tes and any of them shall builde p'vided alwayes y^{t} ye said Ten^{n}tes be at liberty to cropp ye fortye oakes Ress^{er}vid before to the lordes buildinges at all tymes as occacon shall s^{er}ve and of thother oakes res^{er}vid for timber And also ye said Ten^{n}tes upon foure dayes monicon gyven unto them by ye said John his heires or assignes from tyme to tyme as occacion shall require shall cutdowne yearly during ye said grant ye said fortye loides of fyer woodd ther & in such places wthin the said baisbrowne elterwatter & oakhow or anye of them as shall please the said Ten^{n}tes & ye same snagge & marke reidy to loidinge & the said John & his heires executores or assignes lead convey & carrye away yearly the same on his & their charge

And further ye said John benson covenantith & grantith that neith^{er} he the said John his heires nor their assignes or other p'son or p'sons in his and ther right herafter shall wrongufiye vex molest nor trouble ye said ten^{n}tes nor anye of them for abowtes nor towchinge their tenementes anye of them nor any custome herto-fore hadd & used amongst them but ratify the same to ye said ten^{n}tes according to ye trew intent herof

And also yt is agreid betwene ye said p'tyes that in consideracon of the trew accomplishment of ye p^{ro}misis the saide mychaell benson John benson and others aforenamed as well for themselves as all other ten^{n}tes of baysbrowne elterwatter & oakhowe have not onlye contented & paid before & at the sewlinge & deliv^{er}ye herof to ye said John Benson the some of (?) lviij^{li} xij^{d} of y^{t} wch the said John grantith him contente & paid & therof acquited & by these p^{r}ents Discharge the said mychaell others afornamed & all other ye said ten^{n}tes enye of them thexecutours & administrators of them & enye of them for ever but also by theis p^{r}ntes covenantes & grantes to

content & paye or cause to be contented & paid to ye said John benson his executors assignes the some of (?) xxviij^li^ xix^s^ in lawfull Inglish monye over and besides ye said lviij^li^ xij^d^ in man^r^ & forme folowinge (that is to saye) in & on the fyrst day of the moneth of August y^t^ shalbe in ye yeare of o^r^ lord god one thousand fyve hundreth seventy & two in langdaill chappell betwene thoures of eyght of the clocke before noine & foure of the clocke at aft^er^noine in y^t^ same daye xiij^li^ ix^s^ vi^d^ And in or on the first daye of the moneth of August then next that insewinge in the same place & betwene lioke houres on that same day other the xiij^li^ ix^s^ vi^d^ in full & hole contentacon and paiment of fourescore seven pounds In witnes whereof ye said John benson to ye one p't of theis articles indentur remaininge in thands of the said mychaell benson and others aforenamed hath subscribed his name & to thother p't thereof remaininge in handes of the said John Benson the said michaell others aforenamed and sayd Ten^n^tes have subscribed the names or markes the day and yeare first abovesaid 1571

(not signed)

APPENDIX II.

[1577]. RYDAL HALL MSS.

Nouverint universi per presentes me Jacobum Braithwhaite de Ambleside in Comitatu westmerland generosum Teneri et firmiter obligari Johanni Benson de langdale in comitatu predict generoso in Quingentis et viginti Libris Bono Et Legali monete Anglie Soluend eid'm Johanni Aut Suo certo Atturnato heredibus Executoribus administratoribus aut assignatis suis Ad quem quidm soluendum Dat vndecimo Die Octobris Anno Regni Dne nre Elizabethe Dei grâ Anglie francie Et hibnie Regina fidei Defensor &c decimo nono

The Condicion of this obligation ys suche that whereas the aboue bounden James Braithwhaite haithe purchased & boughte of the aboue named John Benson, All that the manno^r^ of Baysbrowne lyeing & being in langdale in the Countie of westm^er^land wth all Ryhtes members & App^ur^tennces thereunto belonging & appertayenninge, And all those two messuages & ten'tes wth theyre app^ur^tennces lyeing & being in Langdale afforesaide in the saide Countye of westmerland thone whereof ys Comonly Called & Knowen bye the name of Elterwatter And the other is Comonly called & knowne by the name of aykhowe, As bye a pare of Indentures of Bargayne &

sale thereof made betwene the said John Benson on the one p'tye & the said James brathwhaite on the other p'tye, bearing Date the daie of the date of theis presentes emonge other thinges therein Contayened more at lardge Dothe & may Appeare, Nowe yt (?) the saide James Brathewhaite his heires Executo^res admynistrato^res or assignes or any of theme or Anye other person or p'sonz, havinge clayeminge or demanndinge anye Estate, title or righte in & off the p^rmisses or in or of anye parte or p'cell thereoff, in, bye, frome under, or throughe, his meanes title right assent Consent comandem^t or p'curem^t, or any other p'son or p'sonz, to whome hereafter he or theie shall Bargayne & sell the p^rmisses or any p'te thereoff bie his meanes assent consent comanndem^t or procurement, Doe Not At Anye tyme or tymes fromhencefurthe, Gyve grannte Bargaine sell Exchaunge Devise conveye assuer or parte withe or suffer or cause to be gyven grannted bargayened solde Exchaunged devised conveyed assuered or p'ted wth to michaell Benson of loughrigg in the saide Countie of westmerlande Clothier or to his heires or assignes or Anye off theme, or to Any other p'son or p'sonz To that ende intent or purpose to assuer or Conveye, to the saide Michaell Benson or to his heires or assignes The Saide Manno^r off Baysebrowne wth thapp^rtennces or anye parte or p'cell thereof or the saide two messuages & tenem^tes Called Elterwatter & Aykehowe or ayther of theme or anye p'te or p'cell thereof or the saide two messuages & tenem^tes Contayened Mencioned & Specifyed in the saide Indentures of Bargaine & sale above mencioned to be bargayened And solde That then this present obligacion to be Voide & off none Effect or elles to stand & Remayne in full powre strength and vertue

Sigillat Et Delibat est Die Et Anno Suprascript in p^rsencia nostra

Johes Will'msong (?)
John Flemynge
Thome Bethom
Robt buntinge
James Brathwait

(The seal, otherwise plain, is stamped with the initials R B)

ADDENDA.

Since this paper was concluded, some further references to the Benson family have turned up. And it is of interest to find that the earliest, one of the year 1338, occurs in association with the

milling industry, and a partnership. Truly, it is out of our parish, being away in Cumberland, and over the pass from that valley of Little Langdale where the Bensons later took such firm root. The reference is found in a partition of the great lordship of Egremont (Close Rolls, 12, Ed. III.), when one heir receives certain parts in Eskdale and Wastdale, "with all lands and mills there and the fishery, except the lands and services which William, son of Robert le Walker, and Ralph Benson hold there," and to another "two corn mills and a fulling mill, and with Wastwater and all the lands and services which William, son of Robert Walker and Ranulph Bensone hold in Eskedale."

Closer to our subject, however, and earlier than John Benson, grave of Grasmere in 1485, is the mention of a Thomas Benson "of Loghrig," who, at the Windermere Court of 1443, was fined 4d. for having allowed six pigs to stray in the lord's forest. (Court Roll, 21, Hen. VI., July 9, $\frac{207}{122}$. Attachments of Aldparke). Again, West states that a daughter of Myles Sawrey, of Graythwaite, married, in the time of Henry VIII., a Benson "of Laughrig." *(Annals of Furness).* Also, when fifteen approved and prominent men of the district were chosen as arbitrators for the just division of the forest between Ambleside and Troutbeck, in 1550, three Bensons were among them: Edward of the High Close, a John, of Grasmere, and a "Johnal [ius] Jenkyn" of Loughrigg.

The following transactions between Rydal Hall and the family may also be added. They show that the freeholder could "coal" his timber and sell it without remonstrance; and that the Fould Bensons became cattle dealers and tanners.

"1675. June 7. Francis Benson pays for a 'skin had long since' 6s. 6d.

1678. John Benson of Tailend is paid for four sacks of charcoal, 5s. 4d.

1692. Francis Benson, 'of the Fold in Loughrigge,' pays 8s. 0d. for grazing oxen in the park.

1697. June 4. Bernard Benson of the Fold is 'allowed' £17 2s. 10d. 'for 20 loads and 2 sacks of char-coals delivered at Coniston Forge at 17s. ye Load.'"

In the days before the Rydal estate smelted its own iron, we have an entry (in an account book of 1643) of the purchase of 100 weight for 18s. 0d. It was made from Mr. Robert Brathwaite, who is thus shown to have continued to work the foundries left by his father.

Mr. George Browne of Troutbeck kindly communicates the subjoined pedigree, from the Visitation of London, 1633-4-5 (Harleian Society, vol. i., p. 65), showing how the Bensons of the barony of Kendal founded a branch in the south :—

BENSON.—Three goats' heads erased, between a chevron sable charged with three escallop shells of the first. Crest; a goat's head party per fess, sable and gules, charged with an escallop shell argent.

Vintry Ward.

Richard Benson of the north pts. of England nigh Kendall in Heram p[ish] * = Katherine, dau. of — Greenwood.

1. Richard Benson
2. William s.p.
3. Henry —
4. Henry —

George Benson of London, merchant, anno 1634.

Nicholas Benson of London. = Elizabeth, dau. of — Garton, co. Sussex.

7. Hugh. s.p.

John Benson, eldest son.

(Signed) George Benson.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 169. Thomas Brathwaite did not become head of the family till his father's death in 1654.

Two relevant entries in the church registers were overlooked, in the burial, in 1668, of Jane Mackereth, "wife of Miller of Loughrigg," and that of "Miller Mackereth" himself, in the following year. As High Miller Bridge was held for many generations by the Mackereths, a corn-mill must have been situated there, and worked up to this date, at least; possibly the closing of it caused the establishment of that "Horse Miln" in Clappersgate, which was complained of in 1704, as affecting the profits of the Ambleside mill. (See "Ambleside town and Chapel.")

Thanks are due to Mrs. Clay for permission to reproduce two of her father's water-colours of the neighbourhood of Miller Bridge; and to Mr. W. Bell for Green's etching. It is only by the kindly co-operation of neighbours, friends, and landowners, who will allow the inspection of their deeds, that local history can be written; and to many helpers in this small venture I owe grateful thanks.

* Probably a contraction for Heversham parish. The local pronunciation is "Hersam."

ART. XIV.—*Crosby Ravensworth Church.* By the REV. C. J. GORDON, M.A.

Read at Crosby Ravensworth, July 11th, 1907.

IT is proposed in this paper to offer an account of the architectural and ecclesiastical history of one of the finest churches in the Diocese of Carlisle; supposed to have been founded towards the close of the eleventh century, and dedicated to St. Lawrence. For convenience of arrangement, the matter is grouped in sections corresponding to five successive stages of building and reconstruction, and the persons connected with them, during a period of eight or nine hundred years.

I.

The parish of Crosby Ravensworth comprises a mountain tract of 18,000 acres in the centre of North Westmorland, at an average height of nearly 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. In the very centre is the remote and beautiful valley where the large churchyard of about two acres is found by the side of the straggling village, in a grassy place, or *thwaite*, enclosed by wooded hills, along the upper reaches of the Lyvennet, a sparkling beck, one of the tributaries of the Eden. Here, a few feet from the south wall of the church, may be seen still standing the plain stone shaft of an ancient cross. The name " Crosseby-ravensthwaite " (corrupted later into its modern form) appears to indicate a Danish or Scandinavian Christian town or village, situated in the grassy level where one named Raven had been able to fix his settlement, after Britons or Angles had been dispossessed. The stately proportions of the restored church agreeably surprise the visitor as he comes

suddenly upon the scene after five or six miles of hilly road from Appleby on the east, or over the higher ground from Shap or Tebay on the west or south, or through a gradual ascent of twice the distance from Penrith through Cliburn and Morland on the north.

From the first authentic records* it appears that the manor of Crosby Ravensworth was one of the fiefs of the barony of Westmorland, and part of the possessions of the great Yorkshire earl Gospatric, who fled to Scotland after the battle of Hastings, his estates being confiscated, but afterwards partially restored by the Conqueror. Uchtred, son of Gospatric, lived at Alverstain (Allerton) on the edge of the Yorkshire Wolds, and through his son Torphin the manor passed to the Hastings family, with whom it remained till the middle of the fifteenth century.

Torphin de Alverstain, in the year 1140, gave the church with two carucates and 140 acres of land in the parish,† to the abbey of Whitby, near 100 miles due east on the coast of Yorkshire. The grant was confirmed by his son Alan about thirty years later, and again by Thomas de Hastings, grandson of Alan; also by Athelwulf (or Athelwald) first Bishop of Carlisle; by Elias and Robert, first Archdeacons of the same see; and by Roger, Archbishop of York. There is a tradition of a friary having adjoined the eastern end of the churchyard, and there appears to be remembrance of it in the names, Monks-garth, Monks-barn, and Monks-bridge. The hospital of St. Leonard at York also had lands here; and at Reagill and Maulds Meaburn, two other townships in the parish, there was connection, either then or later, in the one case with Shap Abbey, and in the other with several religious foundations at a distance. The Diocese of Carlisle was founded in 1133. Soon after his consecration the bishop, by charters still in existence, confirmed the neighbouring

* See Nicolson & Burn, *Westmorland*, pp. 495, 497.
† See Nicolson & Burn, *Westmorland*, p. 495.

Westmorland churches of Kirkby Stephen, Ormshead (Ormside), Morland and Clibburn, with others in Cumberland, to the monks of St. Mary's Abbey of York. Such notices show how fully the parochial system was already developed here, and at the same time what use was made of the discipline of the monastic orders in connection with diocesan jurisdiction. But the bishops of Glasgow on the one side, and of Durham on the other, exercised concurrent authority over parts of the new diocese for many generations, both before and afterwards; and the see is said to have been vacant for more than thirty years, owing to the political troubles of the time.

Taking the place, no doubt, of some ruder edifice previously existing, of which there is no record, the Norman church was built in the form of a cross, and consisted of a nave with north aisle, chancel, and north and south transepts, surmounted by a low tower at the crossing. Of this ancient structure, the only remains are the clustered piers of great bulk at the intersection of the nave and transepts, with square projecting capitals, and octagonal bases now hidden beneath the floor. The massive character of this work corresponds with that prevailing in England in the middle of the twelfth century, when the Norman style was at its best and richest. The walls would be of great thickness, but not perhaps of very solid construction. Whether from defective masonry, or (what is much more likely) from the destructive violence to which, just after that time, the greater number of our churches were exposed, the noble building appears to have been almost entirely thrown down. When it is remembered that the whole country was given up to marauding and plunder, during the civil war in the time of Stephen, it is not likely that so considerable a church as this should have escaped attack. The old chronicler * writes :—

* *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 1137.

Never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these: at length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and burned the church and all together: neither did they spare the lands of bishops, nor of abbots, nor of priests; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he would: the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and the saints slept.

Whitby Abbey itself was destroyed by Norwegian pirates in 1160, and in 1174 Appleby was surrendered to the Scots. At Crosby Ravensworth, during the last rebuilding, some indications were met with of the church having been burned down, melted lead being found in the interstices of the stones, some of which were discoloured as if by the action of fire.

II.

Upon the death of the abbot in 1211, during the interdict of Innocent III., King John seized on the revenues of Whitby, not suffering the chapter to elect a head. The church of Crosby Ravensworth also falling vacant about this time, the king presented Ernald of Amlind. He died in 1221, and immediately afterwards the bishop of Carlisle "solemnly appointed Lord John the Abbot to be parson of the said church, yet so as he may depute a substitute under him as vicar to celebrate therein, who shall have a convenient support allowed him out of the revenues, namely a hundred shillings yearly."* In the next year, by appeal to the pope, a dispute was settled which had arisen between the monks of Whitby and those of Shap respecting some tithes belonging to the latter at Renegill (Reagill). Walter, the fourth bishop, constituted a perpetual vicar for Crosby Ravensworth, allotting a more sufficient stipend for his maintenance, "the abbot and convent spontaneously

* Charlton's *History of Whitby*.

and absolutely committing to his ordering the taxation of their Vicarage Church." He was to have the altarage and twenty acres of land with two tofts, paying to the monks of Whitby twenty shillings per annum; while they were to have the tithe of wool and lamb of the whole parish, with two parts of the tithe hay of the lordship of Meaburn; the vicar to bear all ordinary burdens, synodals, and archidiaconal procurations, and the abbey the extraordinary. At the same time Thomas son of Thomas de Hastings freed the monks and their tenants from suit to his mill there, and gave them leave to grind their corn where they thought best.

With the return of quieter times, a natural impulse towards rebuilding quickly showed itself here as elsewhere. Shap Abbey had been commenced about the year 1200. The restoration of Whitby is placed between 1220 and 1260. Within the same dates a border truce was cemented by the cession of manors at Penrith, Great Salkeld, and other places in the district to the Scottish king; and the choir of Carlisle Cathedral was taken down and enlarged. With these limits of time there is a close correspondence in the style of architecture adopted in the reconstruction at Crosby Ravensworth, which may therefore be placed about the middle of the thirteenth century. The raising of the floor by as much as two feet was probably rendered necessary through accumulation of soil in the graveyard, and interments in the church itself. The capitals on the west and north faces of the north-west central pier were left untouched, while all the others were raised to a higher level to correspond to the columns of the new nave, and pointed arches were substituted for the previously existing Norman ones. The central tower had either fallen in or was now taken down. A south aisle was added to the nave, and the walls of that portion of the fabric replaced by the tall and slender Early English clustered piers, in the form of four attached shafts and

single fillet on face, with circular capitals; the pointed arches recessed and chamfered, having plain hood mouldings. This fine arcade has fortunately ever since remained unaltered in perfect preservation, the dominant feature of the whole. The open crossing and the three bays of the nave were surmounted by a high pitched roof, apparently without clerestory. A remarkably fine pointed doorway, with shafts and deeply moulded arches having dog-tooth ornament, opening into the new aisle under an ample porch, may be seen with the remains of many coatings of whitewash still adhering to its surface. The transepts and chancel were probably restored in a form more closely resembling what they had been before.

Unfortunately, there is no information at our disposal to show who it was to whom this complete and beautiful restoration should be attributed; but that it had added to the consideration of the parish would appear from the fact that during the episcopate of Robert de Chauncey, seventh bishop of Carlisle (1256 to 1278) much litigation took place about the church with the abbot and convent of Whitby. In his history of the diocese, the late Chancellor Ferguson noted that an account of the proceedings is in the chartulary of Whitby, published by the Surtees Society. The result, he says, is not known, but these proceedings, and the charters of Crosby Ravensworth, introduce several officials of the diocese not otherwise mentioned in the local chartularies, such as the official of the archdeacon of Carlisle and the "magister stolarum" there.

With the fourteenth century the list is resumed of vicars recorded by name to have regularly resided in the parish; one William de Insula, in the year 1303, being bound to the bishop in the sum of £10 to reside upon his benefice, and to live soberly and continently. Either the name of the next incumbent is lost, or the succession was irregular. In common with most of the

diocese, this parish again suffered from the effect of the Scottish raids which brought such poverty on the country that in 1337 the bishop complained that he could not get his tenths because the clergy had all fled. A gap in the Episcopal Registers of seven years, commencing with 1346, probably points to the ravages of the Black Death and consequent universal disorganisation. We find, however, that in 1304 Henry Threlkeld had a grant of free warren here as well as at Yanwath, which was repeated in 1320; and in 1336 William de Threlkeld had licence to impark his woods at Crosby Ravensworth;* from which it is evident that the interests of the manor were being steadily developed. It is probable that the fortified hall was established by this time within a few yards of the west end of the church, in a defensive position with a wet moat surrounding the courtyard, of which the circuit is still visible. It had a pele tower, of which nothing remains; and the substantial building with square-headed mullioned windows, now occupied as a farm house, was mostly the work of the Pickerings in the sixteenth century. No one can say how the lords of Threlkeld in Cumberland became landowners at Yanwath and Crosby Ravensworth; but they seem to have come here through association with the family of Hastings, and Threlkeld was a mesne manor of the barony of Greystoke, under which the lands at Crosby Ravensworth were also held. That they identified themselves with the ecclesiastical fortunes of the place is evident from the fact that in 1361 Robert de Threlkeld was presented to the vicarage by the abbot and convent of Whitby. He only held the post for a few months before his death. For the next hundred years there is a blank in our story, only the name of Roger Crofte occurring in 1446 as "vicar of Crosseby ravenswath."

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* "*The Threlkelds*," by W. Jackson, F.S.A.

THE MOAT, CROSBY RAVENSWORTH HALL.

Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

TO FACE P. 212.

UNIV. OF WICH.

III.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century extensive alterations were again effected in the fabric of the church in accordance with the architectural tendency of the period, as may easily be inferred from the date suggested by the character of the existing western tower. This time there is little difficulty in associating the work with the name of the lord of the manor, Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, with whose experience commences all that is known of the personal and domestic history of this knightly family. The chantry chapel, on the north side of the chancel, has been identified as belonging to him by the shield in the hood over the arch impaling the arms of Threlkeld with the bend fleury of the Bromfletes and the cross of the Vescys, thus commemorating his marriage with Margaret, the widow of John Lord Clifford, slain at the battle of Towton Moor in 1461, she being daughter and heiress of Henry Bromflete Lord Vescy. In the vault beneath the massive tomb he was doubtless buried, dying before 1492. In his time, it is thought, the transepts were taken down, the materials being used up in the construction of the tower; the aisle walls were continued across the transept spaces to the east; the chancel was widened, fresh windows of the period being inserted in its walls; the priest's door of the Norman or Early English period (as an old drawing shows) being the only fragment of the former work retained in this portion of the building; and the nave and chancel were covered with flat leaded roofs.

Such was the condition in which the remodelled church remained without further alteration for more than three hundred years; shorn, indeed, of the ancient dignity of its transepts and the striking symbolism of a cruciform plan, and as yet without a clerestory; but still a handsome and well-proportioned structure, suggesting reverent thoughts. It was large enough to serve all purposes of parochial worship for a scattered population varying in number from eight hundred to a thousand souls, and

maintained unbroken connection of ecclesiastical order with other parish churches within the now thoroughly settled diocese of Carlisle. The parish register dates from 1560. The average number of christenings and burials appears to have been something over 20 in a year, but in 1623 and the following year as many as 159 persons were buried in the churchyard.

Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, sheriff of Cumberland in 1493, son of the first Sir Lancelot, was accustomed to boast that he had three noble houses; one for pleasure, Crosby in Westmorland, where he had a park full of deer; one for profit and warmth wherein to reside in winter, Yanwath nigh Penrith; and the third, Threlkeld, well stocked with tenants to go with him to the wars. He was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Arthur Prince of Wales in 1501. He had three daughters, but no son, and the manor of Crosby became the portion of his daughter Elizabeth on her marriage, in 1513, with James, a younger son of Sir James Pickering, of Killington in the county of Westmorland. One of the daughters of the first Sir Lancelot married Sir Hugh Lowther. From the last of the Pickerings, a hundred years later, the manor was purchased by Sir John Lowther of Lowther, father of the first baronet. Sir John gave it as a marriage portion to his daughter Frances, wife of John Dodsworth, known to have repaired the tower and to have been in residence here in 1682.* After several transfers, it was bought by Robert Lowther, whose son, on failure of the main stem, became the head of the family and the sole Earl of Lonsdale of the first creation, and it has since formed a portion of their accumulated estates. In 1745 the remains of "the Worshipful Robert Lowther" were laid in the vault in the Threlkeld chapel at Crosby Ravensworth. In the year 1615 Sir John Lowther and Eleanor

* Nicolson and Burn, *Westmorland*, pp. 302, 499.

his wife came into possession also of Meaburn Hall, which became the residence of the junior branch of that family, and continued so to the fourth generation, when Sir James Lowther of Meaburn succeeded to the estates of Viscount Lonsdale in 1750.

It is related of Robert Thwaites, presented by the community of Whitby in 1572, that, for refusing to subscribe the Thirty Nine Articles, he was superseded by another vicar collated by the bishop by lapse, but soon afterwards reinstated. His successor was presented four years later by Richard Bacon of London, baker, by virtue of an assignment from the abbot and convent the year before the dissolution. The living was valued in the king's books at £7 13s. 4d. As bearing upon the provision made in those days for the furtherance of popular education in connection with the church, it may be noted here that Philip and Mary queen of England gave the annual rent of £5 10s. 8d., charged upon the rectory of Crosby Ravensworth, to increase the revenues of the Free Grammar School at Appleby; and that in 1630 the Rev. William Willain (allowed by dispensation to succeed his father in the vicarage) founded the village grammar school by a gift of £100. His successor, William Curwen, M.A., was ejected by Cromwell's commissioners, but reinstated at the Restoration in 1660.

The following extract from *Bishop Nicolson's Miscellany Accounts of the State of the Churches, &c., in the Diocese of Carlisle** presents a description of the church as it appeared in the course of his View of them in 1703, and shows it to have been then in much better condition than most of the others in the neighbourhood:—

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH. Aug. 20. The Fabrick of the Church looks well on ye outside; being built of good Freestone, well leaded & beautify'd with a fair Tower, wherein are three good Bells. In the Quire (wch belongs to Col. *Graham*, ye present Impropriator) the

* Edited by Chancellor Ferguson. See p. 76.

North-Wall looks nasty and black; and indeed the whole wants whitening. Here are no Rails. The Body of the Church is well seated; and is mostly in good Order. Here's a large North Isle, which belongs to *R. Lowther* of *Meaburn* Esqr who has lately purchased the Demesne and Tenants. It stands almost as much need of whitening as the Quire. Upon some painted Glass here is ye name of S. KATARINA. One Mrs *Wharton* lyes bury'd in ye Quire, with an insignificant Epitaph.

The Bishop copied two rhymed inscriptions from the churchyard recording the deaths of William Thwaites in 1690, and Christopher Jaques in 1699; and, after a mention of "B. Oley's Books in the hand of the vicar, Mr. Wilkinson; who promises to keep 'em, as hitherto he has done, in good plight," he concluded his notes as follows:—

Tho. Pattinson the present Schoolmaster has a Standing Salary of about £10 yearly, the product of Money at Interest; some of which is in suspected hands, and ought to be better secured.

At Whitsuntide, 1705, "two young men (Cragg and Wilkinson) were examined and licensed by the Bishop to the Schools of Crosby-Ravensworth and Reegill." *

Mr. John Knotts, in 1734, left an estate at Maulds Meaburn for the use of the poor of the township, from which five shillings yearly had to be paid for keeping dogs out of the parish church during time of service. The legality of the will was disputed on a technicality, and the heir-at-law paid a sum of money to be invested instead, but how long this portion of the bequest was paid is not known.†

Of more than temporary or local interest are the words of an inscription on a stone pillar erected within half a mile of the church, in a field on the way to Meaburn:—

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* "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries," edited by the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness. These *Transactions*, N.S. iii., p. 11.

† See Nicolson and Burn, *Westmorland*, p. 497; also *Bygone Cumberland and Westmorland*, by Daniel Scott, Penrith, 1899.

On this spot dwelt the paternal ancestors of the celebrated JOSEPH ADDISON. His father, Lancelot Addison, Dean of Lichfield, was born here, 1632.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, the rectory and advowson were purchased by the Bellinghams of Levens and Gathorne. Together with the estate they were sold by Alan Bellingham to Col. James Graham, whose daughter and heiress, Catherine, brought them in marriage to Henry Bowes Howard, Earl of Berkshire. He sold the rectory to the Lowther family, but the advowson continued with the Howards till it passed with the lands of Gathorne, and the lordship of Bank and Row, to Colonel Josceline Fitz Roy Bagot of Levens, towards the end of the nineteenth century. The annual value of the vicarage, as certified to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, was £35 13s. 7d. Colonel Graham, in 1721, gave £200, which, with £200 from the Bounty, was laid out in lands at Lazonby for the augmentation of the living.

IV.

A crisis in the history of this church, very different in character from anything else that has to be recorded of it, was reached after the close of the eighteenth century, when, for the third or fourth time, a complete renewal was considered necessary, and a strange transformation took place as regards the external appearance of the building. Having stood for three hundred years since the previous restoration, and very likely without any repair or attention since the time of Bishop Nicolson's survey, the walls had been allowed to fall a good deal out of the perpendicular, and the tower had a great rent in one of its sides near the top, with a sycamore tree growing out of it. Under such conditions it cannot be deemed unreasonable if an impression prevailed that the whole edifice had become insecure. In the absence of special knowledge or taste in church architecture, at least

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH CHURCH, 1798.

of the Gothic styles, the work of reconstruction was zealously taken in hand by a representative of one of the respected yeoman families in the parish, Mr. George Gibson of Oddendale, one of the founders of the present family of Metcalfe-Gibson. With the assistance of Mr. Smirke, the architect then engaged in rebuilding Lowther Castle, a plan was drawn out for the pulling down of the whole of the ancient walls and windows and replacing them by others in the plainest possible style. "Encouraged by the influence and aided by the bounty of William Dent, Esquire"—so a tablet under the tower relates—"and assisted by many and worthy friends whose names and contributions are recorded in the parish register"; especially four former parishioners then resident in London, John Dent, Thomas Wilkinson, William Thwaites and Robert Burra; the farmers carting the materials, and Mr. Gibson "religiously superintending the reconstruction and aiding with his own skilful hands so excellent a work"; the rebuilding was commenced in 1809, and carried to completion in 1816. The demolition of the tower being fortunately found not only unnecessary but actually impossible, owing to the enduring nature of most of the fifteenth century work, the injured courses were made good, and the upper stage surmounted by a new battlement, a poor imitation of that at Magdalen College, Oxford, which Mr. Gibson had admired when on a visit to his nephews, then Fellows of Queen's, and afterwards vicars respectively of Thedworth and Newbold Pacey. The Earl of Lonsdale, being impropriator of the rectorial tithes, gave the oak timber and rebuilt the chancel and the chantry chapel, the original windows of the latter being happily spared from the wholesale destruction meted out to the rest. During the removal of the chancel walls a copper coin of King Henry I. was found, and handed to Lord Lonsdale. The south-west porch was replaced by a massive structure of neatly hewn stones ornamented with the date and geo-

metrical symbols and scripture reference (Isa. xxxv. 1, 2). A shallow hood of more elaborate design was placed over the priest's door in the south wall of the chancel, with the sentence "ECCE SPONSUS VENIT" for superscription, and eucharistic emblems carved in bold relief below. These porches have been permitted to remain as witnesses to the well-intended and ingenious nature of the entire conception. The same may be said of the narrow circular font with painted canopy of fret-work, the bowl of stone, but also thickly painted. This was placed as close as possible to the reading desk at the north-eastern angle of the nave. Around it is an incised palindrome which may be rendered "*Wash my sins, not my face only*":— "NIΨONANOMHMATAMHMONANOΨIN." A small altar table and wooden pulpit were provided. The whole of the interior of the church was fitted with the customary pews, designed for the comfort of those attending the services. Finally, the lofty open-timbered roofs were replaced by others of low pitch, and underdrawn with flat, plastered ceilings; the whole of the inside was whitewashed over, and the walls illuminated with texts.

Though inexpressibly deplorable from the point of view of art or archæology, there can be no doubt that such a complete reversal of ancient ideals was in agreement with the ecclesiastical notions of the period, and generally acceptable to the parishioners in those easily satisfied times of agricultural prosperity, when the population reached its highest recorded numbers. George Gibson died at the age of eighty, in 1835. His nephew, Thomas, lived in the village for many years near the church, being thoroughly devoted to its interests according to the accepted view, and was held in the highest regard for his extreme benevolence and the charming sweetness and humility of his disposition. He became a munificent donor to the endowments of the schools in the parish, increased by that time to four in number through the establishment of one for girls at Crosby Ravensworth in

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH CHURCH, 1848.

1830 (which has, however, since become unnecessary, owing to the decrease of the numbers in attendance) and of a mixed school at Maulds Meaburn in 1834. The school near the church had been rebuilt by William Dent, and endowed by him and others with an additional sum of £500. The various members of the Gibson family are fully commemorated in an inscription running the whole length of the north wall of the restored transept, and their burial place from 1799 is marked by a square stone pillar, six feet high, with crocketted cap, towards the eastern side of the churchyard. Their last representative evidently did much to assist the clergy to live up to a rising standard of pastoral efficiency, at a time when the greater part of the country was being opened up by new methods of traffic. Here, however, the road from Shap, even after arrival of the railway there, was little better than a mountain track, and the only mode of access to the vicarage was to drive through the waters of the beck, or to cross by stepping-stones. The stable and farm buildings attached to the little house have since been thrown together to form the roomy and picturesque residence, surrounded by garden and shrubbery, at the foot of which the Oddendale beck unites its waters to those of the Lyvennet before flowing under the ancient bridge behind the school. A terrier of 1828 estimates the annual income of the vicar at £133. In 1845 the vicarial tithes were commuted for £44, and the rectorial for £98. Thirty years later, the value of the living was over £200 a year, but was again soon afterwards seriously reduced on account of agricultural depression.

The last two incumbents during the period just described were Salisbury Everard and Edward Carus Wilson. The former, after two years' experience, finding efficient oversight of the whole parish physically impossible, endeavoured to promote a plan for erecting a chapel in the extensive mountainous township of Birkbeck Fells under a curate who should take charge also of

Greenholme, Rounthwaite and Bretherdale in the parish of Orton, with a total estimated population of about 430, besides the visitors at Shap Wells. But the scheme came to nothing, Mr. Everard leaving to become rector of Burgate, and afterwards official of the archdeacon of Norfolk. Ten years later his successor removed in search of health, but never recovered, leaving a widow who survived to the year 1904 and died at the age of a hundred.

V.

George Frederick Weston, after serving two years as curate at Kendal, was instituted in 1848 to the vicarage of Crosby Ravensworth on the presentation of the Hon. Mrs. Howard of Levens, and held the appointment up to his death in 1887. This is not the place for dwelling upon private relationships, or the remarkable qualities which won him the confidence of so many friends and parishioners. But the human interest of this narrative would be ill-sustained without a reference to the personal ability which rendered the modern parish priest worthy of comparison with those devoted ecclesiastics and notable laymen who did such great things for the House of God in former ages, and into whose labours he entered with full discernment and the most untiring zeal. In the long line of incumbents who preceded him there is not one whose name is associated in any way with the fabric of the noble church in which they ministered, and in other respects it was an unparalleled achievement for a young clergyman to undertake on his own responsibility the rebuilding of so large a church in the middle of the nineteenth century, and within thirty years of its complete transformation in an entirely different style. This Mr. Weston did, conscientiously feeling himself called to the work of restoring the once lovely structure to its ancient size and beauty. Struck from the first with the erroneous treatment of the outside walls, and

their contrast with the charming Early English interior, he at once resolved upon a course of gradual retransformation, the nave arcade being the key to the plan which ought to be followed. The services were obtained of a competent architect, the late J. S. Crowther of Manchester, to whose letters, with the report* made afterwards to Mrs. Weston, we are indebted for many of the following particulars, as well as for much useful light upon the course of events on occasions of rebuilding in the past. He made a thorough examination, and prepared a full set of plans for the whole, in accord with what could be traced of the ancient design, omitting the transepts, of which absolutely no trace remained. The existing walls were found to be thin and unsubstantial, so that the weather had already penetrated through them, and they, and the floor also, were green with damp in many parts. The chancel, especially, presented a spectacle of damp and neglect, with furniture of mean appearance.

It is characteristic of the spirit in which the new enterprise was taken in hand, that the first consideration was to provide the necessary fittings for rendering the services in a suitable and reverent manner. A carved oak altar of befitting dignity, a kneeling rail, choristers' seats, lectern, and stone pulpit, were provided in 1850. A chamber organ of excellent workmanship, said to have been built for his own use by Mr. George Gibson, was "presented to the parish as an offering to the church" by his son-in-law, Mr. John Sewell, and erected at the east end of the south aisle, before the re-opening services in 1852. It has since been enlarged and brought up to date on three separate occasions within fifty years, and is still in use. A faculty was obtained from the diocesan authorities to authorise the alterations after the parishioners had been consulted and resolutions

* See notes by Mrs. Weston, printed at Kendal, 1888; p. 33.

Photo. by McDonald, Penrith. CROSBY RAVENSWORTH CHURCH. TO FACE P. 225.

of approval passed at vestry meetings; and other faculties after similar meetings at succeeding stages of the undertaking. In 1853, on the introduction of a surpliced choir, a new vestry was added to the north of the chancel, and a crypt constructed underneath to accommodate a furnace and appliances for efficiently warming the church with hot-water pipes, in place of the unsightly stoves and open braziers in use up to that time. It was only after another three years, during which much preparatory work was done in scraping off coatings of lime from the pillars and other parts of the ancient masonry, that the actual restoration was commenced with the rebuilding of the west end gable of the north aisle, the angle buttresses, and the two light window, in memory of Mr. Weston's first wife. In the next year, the Early English chancel arch was successfully restored (the slender piers with angle shafts detached and the usual band in centre) completing the four arches of the intersection on its eastern side; and a plainer arch of suitable design erected between the north aisle or transept and the Threlkeld chapel, the massive altar tomb being raised to its proper height above the floor. Again, after a still longer interval of ten years, a beautiful lancet window was placed in the west end of the south aisle, in memory of the vicar's second wife, and the adjoining walls rebuilt with solid angle buttresses upon foundations securely laid several feet below the surface.

The principal mason, in this and in all succeeding sections, was Robert Hogarth Parkin, who had removed from Orton to Crosby Ravensworth at the invitation of the vicar, and entered fully into the spirit of his design, bringing up his sons also to carry on the work, with the help of others connected with the parish. Throughout the many years of restoration, the character of the workmanship was consistently maintained at the highest level, and the materials of every sort were of the very best, freestone of good quality being obtained in abundance from

two quarries in the parish at a distance of several miles apart, and some grey limestone from the rocky summit of the fells being used for polished dressings in the interior. Working drawings for many of the details were supplied by Mr. Weston himself. We have also from his own hand a number of faithful sketches of the church and its surroundings at the commencement of his incumbency; and the members of his family have preserved a series of beautiful water-colour drawings, valued alike for their high artistic merit and for the accurate pictures presented in them of the church and churchyard, as well as of the vicarage house and garden, and of scenes of interest in the neighbourhood. In has been remarked, with perfect truth, "that few painters have equalled him in the delicacy of his touch and the exactness of his representation."

The fourteenth year of the work of restoration had now arrived. It must next be noted how, in the course of operations, the belfry stage of the tower was found to be in a dangerous condition, from the action of the bells and the flimsy nature of the construction. Imperfectly bonded with the aid of iron rods which had perished, the battlement gave way under the fury of a gale in the early part of 1866, and large pieces were blown down on to the roof. This was not the first time that such a dangerous fall had occurred, a stone on one occasion crashing through the roof on to the floor beneath. The upper portion of the tower was taken down, and increased in height by about 20 feet in the rebuilding, to provide for an intended heightening of the nave roof. The present belfry stage, with its handsome windows, was then surmounted by a plain, solid battlement, with a spirelet at the north-east corner roofing in the angle stair. The weight of the bells is 9½, 8, and 7 cwts., respectively.

In 1868, the restoration of the north chantry was undertaken, and in the following year plans were prepared for constructing a new high-pitched roof with open timbers, at a greater elevation than the original, and for

a low clerestory with six plain quatrefoils on either side above the nave arcade; as also for the restoration of the masonry and windows of the south aisle. Whilst excavating for the foundation of the eastern extremity of the aisle, the workmen laid bare a portion of the wall of the ancient south transept; this was traced to the southern end, and the exact size of the transept was ascertained. Mr. Wilkinson Dent, of Flass, then the leading parishioner, and a most generous supporter at every stage of the work, was much interested in the discovery, and undertook at his sole expense the rebuilding of this transept, to be reserved for the use of his family and their descendents. He also provided the coloured windows and the carved oak screens at the openings to north and west, and met the cost of restoring the south aisle and the north chapel. He died in his eighty-sixth year in 1886, when a fine mural painting (of the Blessing of the Children) was placed in the transept to his memory by one of his nephews. The white marble bust is in memory of Thomas Wilkinson* who died in 1840 at the age of eighty-one. Flass House, a commodious mansion in the Italian style, was built in 1851 about a mile from the church near Mauld's Meaburn, of white limestone from the high ground near Orton Scar, and is now the property of Mr. Robert Wilkinson Dent, whose estate includes the lands of Crosby Lodge where the Threlkelds had their deer park in the fifteenth century.

The end of 1871 saw the completion of the Dent chapel, a lofty and beautiful feature of the church. The north aisle was next rebuilt, with a new doorway opposite the main entrance. This doorway, and the adjoining window of two lights were due to a gift in memory of George Sewell, a grandson of George Gibson. Three similar windows in line with it were also filled with good stained glass in memory of Sir Thomas Wilkinson, K.C.S.I., Thomas

* See p. 220; also *Transactions*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 129.

Gibson, and Robert Wilkinson. It was next decided to proceed with the raising of the north transept, the original foundations of which had been discovered, the extent of its length northward and its width being also ascertained exactly. Many friends united to subscribe for this as a memorial to Thomas Gibson, "the good man of Oddendale," who had died in 1869 in his ninety-first year. Like the south transept it was lighted by a fine wheel window and Early English lancets of large size, deeply splayed and adorned with limestone shafts and moulded arches; but left unscreened and without the coloured glass, tiled pavement, and pretty interlacing wall arcade, which are such an embellishment to the other. It was finished in 1873 together with the continuation of the clerestory and roof of the nave to the eastern extremity of the intersection, Mr. Arthur Gibson contributing to the cost. The treatment here resulted in the production of the very admirable lantern, lighted by a well-proportioned opening of three lights towards the nave (provided by a first donation, very welcome to the vicar, from his son) and four elegant dormer windows in the roof, and forming a most effective element in the restoration of the cruciform design.

Long before this time a corresponding change for the better had been commenced in the care of the churchyard and its accessories. Owing to the influence of the vicar the gravestones assumed a more religious character, the local limestone being carved to good effect under his guiding hand. The approaches also were improved, and the boundary walls in great part rebuilt at considerable outlay so as to accord with the architecture of the church; and a hearse house, which was greatly needed, was built at the north-east corner to accommodate the hearse provided by subscription soon after he came. In 1870 a drawing was made for restoring the upper part of the interesting churchyard cross, but this work has been left for someone else to undertake. Outside the precincts a part of Monks-garth had been secured from the lord of the

manor by exchange of vicarage land for use as a school playing field; while in other directions both by exchange and purchase the glebe had been improved. A little later the income of the benefice was augmented by more than £50 a year through assignment of rectorial tithes at Soulby and Waitby by Queen Anne's Bounty aided by Mr. Weston's gifts. At various times he enlarged and beautified parts of the vicarage house at his own expense, and with great taste laid out the garden; provided a water supply by gravitation from the fell for the use of his own family and those of the neighbouring villagers; led the way in archæological researches into the numerous British and Roman antiquities of the district; carried through new schemes for the better government of the schools and charities; planted trees for use and ornament in well-chosen spots by hedgerows and roadsides; and (last but not least) he designed some of the graceful bridges and excellent roads by which convenient access can now be had to Crosby Ravensworth, and from the centre to the more distant parts of the widely scattered parish. To all these topics the merest allusion is made, as to facts which cannot justly be omitted in connection with the restoration of a parish church; yet such mention will not exhaust even the bare catalogue of all that was attempted and carried through. It should be noted that the regular course of Sunday services in church was never suspended during the thirty years of the rebuilding under the pastoral superintendence of four successive bishops of the diocese; that Mr. Weston made use of the help of an assistant curate during the latter half of his time; that for many years he presided over his brother clergy in the Rural Deanery of Lowther; and was collated by Dr. Harvey Goodwin in 1879 to an Honorary Canonry in Carlisle Cathedral. The facts may help to place in their true light the character and aims of the man who was thus content to expend the energies of a life-time in serving the interests of this one parish, patiently investigating and interpreting its ancient

treasures, and restoring to even more than its original beauty the precious memorial of the generosity and devotion of the past.

The rebuilding of the chancel was commenced in 1875 after much anxious consultation between the architect and the vicar, the last decade of whose life and ministry saw this crowning portion of his great labour of love slowly and perseveringly accomplished. The style of architecture adopted was of somewhat later date than that of the nave. It has been remarked to the writer by a friendly critic, to whom he is indebted for other notes bearing on structural detail, that the restoring architect would appear to have treated his building as developing from west to east, with work of earlier character towards the west; whereas the choice of the mediævalist is generally the reverse, the chancel being first, and progress in later development proceeding westward. But in this case the recent demolition of the ancient chancel left room for a freedom of preference which may be thought to have been wisely used for variety of enrichment. The large windows of two or three lights, of an early Geometrical Decorated type, with quatrefoil heads and deeply recessed and pillared mouldings, have succeeded in giving to this important part of the church a distinguishing dignity and brightness. The very fine east window was provided by several members of the Dent family, and filled with stained glass (depicting scenes in the Passion and Resurrection) in memory of Thomas Dent, who died in 1871. The blank north wall has well designed openings into the Threlkeld chapel and into a recess where the small organ was once accommodated adjoining the vestry passage. The spacious floor, like that of the rest of the church, is particularly well laid with solid flagstones, only the spaces within the rails being tiled. The wrought iron rails are the handiwork of the blacksmith who is also parish clerk. There are two steps upward under the chancel arch, another further east, and two more at the

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH CHURCH.

Photo. by McDonald, Penrith.

TO FACE P. 230.

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CROSBY RAVENSWORTH VICARAGE.

Photo. by McDonald, Penrith. TO FACE P. 231.

sedilia, the triple arched canopy over which, with deep mouldings and shafts, harmonizes well with the windows. A piscina of similar style, south of the altar, is matched by a recessed credence let into the wall on the north. The high pitched roofs are covered throughout with thick green Westmorland slates, the gable ends of nave and chancel surmounted with carved stone crosses of ample size and elegant design; and sculptured heads (many of them portraits of persons connected with the work) and other adornments are introduced as finishings to the labels of door and window arches round the church.

The cost of the eastern portion of the building was of course considerable, and altogether the labour of collecting subscriptions must have been very great; but funds never failed to come in when actually required. From first to last as much as £8000 was expended on the work. In 1884 a donation from an old and valued servant of the vicar led to a resolve to complete the only piece then remaining to be done—the south wall of the chancel. A final appeal was cordially responded to, and the whole was finished by Michaelmas, 1886, when re-opening services were held, amid much rejoicing, by the fifty-eighth bishop of Carlisle. A little more than a year afterwards, after a short illness, the vicar was called to his rest. He lies buried outside the chancel wall in the angle of the south transept, "in peace and hope awaiting the resurrection near the church he beautified and the people he loved."

Since it was finished more than twenty years ago little has been required, beyond careful and thankful use, to keep the church in the perfect condition in which it was left by Canon Weston. The three-light window in the chancel, filled with stained glass in his memory, suitably presents the Adoration of the Lamb, with groups of worshipping angels, and a portrait kneeling figure vested in surplice below. In 1897 a handsome reredos of oak was presented by Mrs. Webster, Mr. John Wakefield

Weston, and others, with some excellent panelling and a clever carving after Da Vinci's picture of "The Last Supper." During the present century a further portion of the churchyard wall has been rebuilt; the parishioners have judiciously expended a hundred pounds in improving the heating and lighting of the church, and a like sum upon rebuilding the organ, now removed for greater convenience to the Gibson transept; a tablet of alabaster and mosaic work has been placed in the other transept to the memory of the late Thomas Wilkinson John Dent of Flass; and three memorial brasses of excellent workmanship have been let into other parts of the walls by two grandsons of the venerable mason, buried at Christmas 1903, whose work is felicitously recorded upon the one placed under the lantern. One vicar has had the glebe house improved by internal rearrangement and repair, and another has added to the endowment (now producing £190 a year) with the help of donations from the patron and others, the local contribution of £100 being doubled by the Laymen's Committee of the diocese, and the total again doubled by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The late Mrs. Thwaites of Holesfoot Lodge left a legacy of £200 to the vicar and churchwardens to apply the interest in keeping the church in order, an object which those who worship in it and all who visit it may be expected very heartily to promote.

The foregoing description will serve a good purpose if it should be the means of inducing some who have not seen it to make a personal inspection of this noble village church and its very interesting surroundings. The facts brought under review are such as to suggest many a useful lesson of faith, of courage, or of perseverance; and may be held to illustrate two further considerations of some importance, the permanence of the principles of Religious Art, and the continuity of the Church of England.

VICARS OF CROSBY RAVENSWORTH.

1211.	Ernald de Amlind.
1303.	William de Insula.
1361.	John de Linton.
1361.	Robert de Threlkeld.
1362.	John de Regill.
1446.	Roger Crofte.
1572.	Roland Thwaits.
	Christopher Witton.
1576.	Edward Smyth.
1597.	William Willain.
1617.	Matthias Braddel.
1617.	William Willain.
1650. (?)	William Curwen.
1685.	William Wilkinson.
1708.	James Watson.
1747.	George Williamson.
1783.	Samuel Revely.
1811.	Joseph Briscoe.
1834.	Salisbury Everard.
1837.	Edward Carus Wilson.
1848.	George Frederick Weston.
1888.	Robert Webster.
1901.	Charles James Gordon.
1905.	Sidney Swann.

NOTES.

Page 206—"Crosby Ravensworth":—For a different account of the name, see these *Transactions*, o.s., vol. ii., p. 205—Article by Canon Weston.

The illustrations to this article are from photographs taken after the Restoration of the Church, or from sketches by the late Canon Weston, copied by Miss G. Gordon.

ART. XV.—*A Wall Painting formerly in Carlisle Cathedral.* By E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A. *With Notes* by THE BISHOP OF BARROW-IN-FURNESS.

Read at Kendal, July 11th, 1907.

THE accompanying drawing is a copy of one made by the late Mr. Nutter of Carlisle, who made his sketch when the fresco was discovered during the restoration of Carlisle Cathedral under the late Mr. Ewan Christian, the architect to the Ecclesiastical Commission, and which fresco was washed off very shortly after being found. My copy is a facsimile of Mr. Nutter's drawing, to which, unfortunately, there was no scale, nor do I remember for certain the position which it occupied. The clouds rays and angels' wings were light red, the angels' hair yellow, the country a dull green, St. Cuthbert's cloak and cap red, his boots and also the animal near them pink, his other garments white, his staff and wallet yellow, the unicorn white, and the antelope dull red.

From the scanty remains, I should judge its date to have been some time in the fifteenth century. The subject I imagine was "Jacob's Dream," but the suggestion by the Bishop of Barrow is much more probable. I do not know what the head in the red cap at the bottom has to do with that subject. It may perhaps be a portion of a succeeding picture, and the whole fresco may have been the life of St. Cuthbert.

NOTES BY THE BISHOP OF BARROW-IN-FURNESS.

The drawing now in the possession of Mr. E. Towry Whyte appears to be a copy of a fresco referred to in *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations*, by C. E.

A WALL PAINTING FORMERLY IN CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

Copied by E. Towry Whyte from a drawing by Mr. Nutter. TO FACE P. 234.

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Keyser, published by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum. In the edition of 1883, under the head "Carlisle Cathedral," p. 56, we find :—

N.E. pier of central tower; the Death of St. Aidan, as revealed to St. Cuthbert while tending his flocks on the distant hills. *Society of Antiquaries' Proceedings*, iii., 86.

Vol. iii. of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* extends from April, 1853, to June, 1856. On p. 86 occurs the following :—

Dr. Augustus Guest communicated an account which he had received from Mr. C. H. Purday, accompanying a drawing, on a reduced scale, of a Fresco discovered in the North East pier of the central tower of Carlisle Cathedral. The painting is supposed by Dr. Guest to illustrate an incident in the life of St. Cuthbert, as related by the Ven. Bede, where he describes the manner in which the death of St. Aidan was revealed to the holy man, whilst he was tending his flocks upon the distant hills.*

I have been able to obtain no other information concerning the fresco in question. No reference to it is made in Canon Harcourt's account of the paintings in the back of the stalls, though in the series concerning the life of St. Cuthbert the same subject is illustrated in a somewhat different manner.

Mr. C. H. Purday was clerk of the works to the Ecclesiastical Commission at the time of the restoration of the cathedral, 1854-55.

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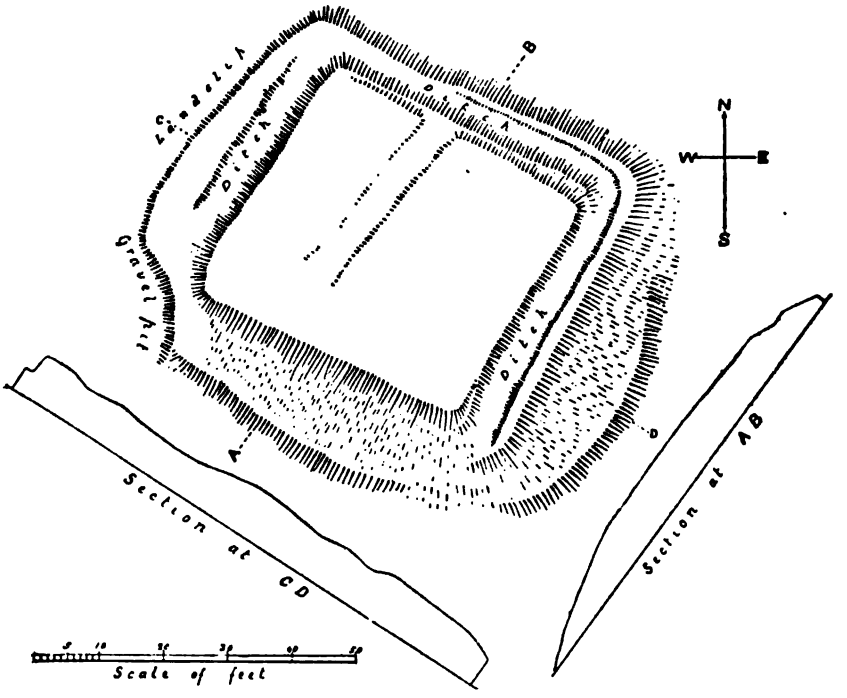
* The *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 374, under the heading "Carlisle Cathedral," repeats the explanation of the subject, and says :—"The old work was coloured throughout, both wood and stone. Traces of painting were discovered everywhere; in some instances were lines or scroll work, or the mouldings tinted, each member having a separate colour. The choir-pillars were painted white, and diapered with (Jesus-Maria ?). This was late fifteenth century work, perhaps in the time of Prior Gondibour."

ART. XVI.—*On the Battle of Ardderyd.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. *With Plan and description of the earthworks at Arthuret* by T. H. HODGSON, F.S.A., and Mrs. HODGSON.

Read at Arthuret, September 12th, 1907.

THE church and rectory at Arthuret are situated on a raised plateau on the west side of the river Esk which flows past them at a lower level, and to the south of the church and rectory garden there rise two small wooded hills known as the "Arthuret Knowes." These are separated from each other by the public road, and I think that at one time they formed one low hill or ridge about 500 yards long, but were divided into two when the highway was made. There can be no doubt that these hills occupied at one time a most important strategic position commanding the fords of the river Esk and the road over them from Cumberland into Scotland. The hill to the south of the church is the more important of the two, is about 150 yards long, is somewhat rounded in shape and has a flattened top which is enclosed by a low earthen rampart enclosing a space nearly square. Through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson, who at my request made a survey of this earthwork, I am able to give a plan of it, and they have supplied me with some interesting notes which appear as an appendix to this paper. The hill to the south of the rectory garden is much longer, being upwards of four hundred yards in length; it is of varying height and has also in places a flattened top, but no traces of a rampart. There is nothing authentic known as to the origin of these hills. They do not appear to have attracted the attention of this Society at any previous meeting; they are not mentioned in our



EARTHWORKS AT ARTHURET

Transactions nor in any of the county histories, and they are not marked as tumuli in either the old or the recent maps of the Ordnance Survey. Professor Windle, however, in his recent work, *On the Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England* includes Arthuret in his list of Cumberland tumuli with the suggestion, in brackets, that these are probably eskers. The word "esker" or "eskar" is a geological term, and was originally used by Irish geologists. It is derived from the Irish word "Eiscir" signifying a ridge. The word has now come into general use among writers on glacial geology, and is applied to a ridge of water-worn materials running across valleys and plains, along hillsides, and even over watersheds, and forming a very marked feature in the topography of certain regions. They are very common in the centre of Ireland, they occur in Sweden where they are called "åsar," in Scotland where they are called "kames," and in the New England states of North America. Professor Geikie says that no very satisfactory explanation of their mode of formation has yet been given, but they are believed to be in some way connected with the former glaciation of the regions where they occur. In these *Transactions*, o.s., vol. vii., Chancellor Ferguson gives an account of the exploration of a tumulus near Dalston Hall which turned out to be an esker. I have not been able to find any authority* for including these hills at Arthuret in the list of Cumberland tumuli, and no attempt has been made to explore them systematically so as to ascertain their nature. From an examination of a sandpit on the northern slopes of the larger hill, and of a gravel pit at the western end of the other hill, I think there can be no doubt that these are eskers. There is a distinct stratification of earth, gravel, and sand in the latter, which could only be produced by an effort of nature.

* Professor Windle tells me that he does not know on what authority they were included. The word Arthuret occurs in his Cumberland Sheet in his own handwriting, and after it the words "perhaps Eskers" in the handwriting of a gentleman who was, at the time he was compiling his work, the local secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

It may be worth putting on record a statement I heard sometime in the early sixties of a visit to Arthuret which was made by the late Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh, who was not only very eminent as a physician, but also as an antiquary. He was much struck with the appearance of these hills; he made a careful examination of them, believing that they were sepulchral in their origin, and strongly urged that they should be explored. I was under the impression that he had published some account of this visit, but I cannot find any trace of a paper by him on the subject. I think it probable that this visit may have occasioned the inclusion of these hills in the list of Cumberland tumuli in Professor Windle's book. It is, I think, a matter of regret that no systematic attempt has yet been made to complete a list of authentic tumuli in this district. The list given by Professor Windle is incomplete and inaccurate. In vol. iii., o.s., of our *Transactions* Mr. J. Clifton Ward gives a list of tumuli in the Lake District, and papers on the exploration of tumuli have been given by others. There are, as is well known, two kinds of tumuli or barrows as they are frequently called, the long barrow which formed the burial place of the long headed race, and the round barrow used by the round headed race. Both are for the most part found in the mountainous part of the country, and it is not usual for the round barrow to be found associated with the long barrow, although an exception occurs to this in Staffordshire where two round barrows occur separated from each other by a long barrow. There is no means of telling whether a barrow is sepulchral in its origin except by exploration, and Professor Windle points out that rubbish heaps, natural hillocks, and the foundations of windmills have sometimes been mistaken for barrows, but he especially states that all in his list have been claimed as barrows, and many have been proved as such by examination. The only long barrow in his list is Peelohill, near Bewcastle. It is starred as showing that it is one of

special importance. The only other long barrow in Cumberland of which I can find any record is one referred to by Canon Greenwell in a paper which he read at the first meeting of this Society, on September 17th, 1866. The exact locality is not given, but much was apparently expected from its exploration. A footnote appended to the paper says that an examination of the supposed barrow showed that it was a natural gravel mound. It is also as well to remember that the Romans and the Saxons threw up mounds very like the barrows of the bronze and early iron period, and they sometimes used barrows for sepulchral purposes, so that it is not unusual for evidences of Roman or Romano-British burials to be found in the same tumulus with remains of an earlier race. I trust that an effort will soon be made to compile a list of authentic barrows in the area which is covered by the work of this Society.

There being no evidence to show that these "Arthuret Knowes" were "ancient places of burial," it remains for me to consider what other purposes they can have served. The commanding view which is obtained from the summit of both, now to some extent obscured by trees, and the existence of an earthwork on the top of one of them suggests that they must at one time have been of great military importance, and there can be no doubt that they played an important part in more than one great battle. Much speculation has been indulged in by antiquaries as to the exact site of the battle of Ardderyd or Arderyth. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, says it was not on the Solway as the editor of Lloyd's *Commentariolum* supposes, but on the Clyde as probability attests: from a consideration of all the circumstances he considers it more than probable that Airdrie, in the parish of New Monkland, Lanarkshire, which was in the territory of Rydderch, and is at no great distance from the Clyde, is the true site of the battle. Dr. Hugh Todd, who became rector of Arthuret in 1688, started a parish register in the following year, and among

the interesting notes in the register in his handwriting is one to the effect that Arthuritt or Arthuridd has its name from the famous King Arthur, king of the ancient Britons, in whose time there was a battle fought here, probably on the moor called by that name. There is no place particularly called Arthuret but the parsonage and the church, which gives denomination to the whole parish. This note seems to have escaped the attention ot Mr. William Forbes Skene when he visited Arthuret and made a careful examination of the place. The results of his observation are contained in a paper which he contributed to the "Proceedings" of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries for 1865-66, the title of his paper being "Notice of the site of the Battle of Ardderyd or Arderyth." This battle is the centre of a group of Welsh traditions, and as it resulted in the establishment of Rydderch as the king of the Cumbrian Britons, and had far reaching consequences. I have collated from various sources the following account.

Notices of it are found partly in the triads and partly in the old poems. In the triad called the Three Frivolous Battles of the Isle of Britain, the second is said to be the battle of Arderyth, and a lark's nest was the cause of it, where 80,000 men were slain of the nation of the Cymri. In the triad called the Three Retinues of the Passes, the third is the retinue of Drywon, son of Nudd, in Rhodwydd Arderydd. In the triad of the Three Horses who carried three loads of the Isle of Britain, the second was the load of Cornan which carried certain chiefs to see the sacred fire of Gwenddolau in Arderydd. In the triad of the three loyal tribes of the Isle of Britain, the third was the tribe of Gwenddolau, the son of Ceidiau, who maintained the conflict for forty-six days after their lord was slain, and would not desist from the conflict until they should avenge his death. In the triad of the Three Men who wore beards, that advised the three good assassinations of the Isle of Britain, the first was Gale, son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed the two brown birds of Gwenddolau, son of Ceidio,

that had a yoke of gold about them, and devoured daily two bodies of the Cymry at their dinner, and two at their supper. In the triad of the Three Bulls of Battle of the Isle of Britain, the second is Gwenddolau ab Ceidio.

A poem referring to the battle is to be found in the Black Book of Carmarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century. It consists of a dialogue between Taliessin and Myrddin. It is rather a long poem and I think two verses will suffice. They are as follows:—

Taliessin.

The host of Maelgwn, it was fortunate they came,
Slaughtering men of battle, penetrating the gory plain.
Even the battle of Ardderyd,
When will be its use,
Continually his hero they will prepare.

Merddin.

A host of flying darts, reeking with blood was the plain,
A host of wounded warriers, frail they were,
A host when wounds are given,
A host when put to flight.
A host is overturned
In their combat.

The battle of Arderyth is also frequently alluded to in the poems attributed to Myrddin. For example:—

I am hated by the chiefs of Rhydderch,
For after Gwenddolau no princes honour me,
Yet in the battle of Ardderyd I wore golden torques.

In the metrical life of Merlin we are told that this battle was fought between Peredwr, leader of the North Welsh, and Gwenddolau, who governed kingdoms in Scotland; that Rhydderch, king of the Cumbri, also was there, and that Merlin fled to the woods after the battle. In the "Annales Cambriæ" it is mentioned as a real event about the year 573. "Bellum Armterid inter filios Elifer et Gwendoleu filium Keidiau in quo bello Gwendoleu cecidit. Merlinus insanus effectus est." One of the first results of

the victory was that Rhydderch became king over Strathclyde, and the year 573 was the first year of his reign. This king fixed his headquarters on a rock in the Clyde, called in Welsh Alclud, whence it was known to the English as Alclyde, but the Goidels called it Dunbretton or the fortress of the Brythons, and this name in the slightly modified form of Dumbarton has prevailed to the present day. Rhydderch prevailed upon Kentigern to to return from Wales and take up the primacy of this district as Bishop of Glasgow. From this it is clear that Rhydderch was the leader of the Christian party, while Gwendolau, with his sacred fire and his birds which devoured men, may be regarded as the type of the old paganism of the country. The struggle was therefore between the advancing Christianity and the departing paganism, and one cannot but rejoice that the former was victorious.

The evidence connecting Arthuret with the site of the battle is very conclusive. Skene says that the first clue he found was in Fordun, who in his notice of St. Kentigern describes, evidently from some older authority, his meeting in the desert a wild man, who informs him that his name is Merlin, that he had lost his reason, and that he roamed these solitudes because he had been the cause of the slaughter of so many men : "qui interfecti sunt in bello, cunctis in hac patria constitutis satis moto, quod erat in campo inter Lidel et Carwanolow situato."

The river Liddel joins the Esk just above Longtown, and among the baronies which formed part of the possessions of Ranulph de Meschines, in the reign of Henry I., was the barony of Lyddale, and this consisted of the lands of Esk, Arthuret, Stubhill, Carwindlow, Speersykes, Randslington, Eitin, Nicol Forest, and the English parts of the debateable lands.

Ardderyd is very similar in sound to Arthuret, and as double *d* in Welsh is pronounced *th* the resemblance becomes more pronounced. Carwindlow is evidently the

THE KNOWES OF ARTHURET, from the Churchyard.

Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

TO FACE P. 245.

Carwanolow of Fordun. Carwindlow (or Carwinley as it is now called) is the name of a stream which flows into the Esk about three miles north of Longtown and is close to the old Roman camp known as the Moat of Liddell. Skene considers that the word Carwhinelow is a corruption of Caerwenddoleu, the caer or city of Gwenddoleu the pagan chief, and it is permissible to suppose that while Gwenddoleu had his head-quarters on the Moat of Liddell Rhydderch occupied Arthuret on his victorious march from Wales to become the first Christian King of Strathclyde.

There is another notable event nearly ten centuries later in date in which these hills may have been of great military importance. I allude to the battle of Sollom or Solway Moss in 1542 when the Scots, 10,000 in number, but discontented with their leader, Oliver Sinclair, a favourite of the Scottish monarch, allowed themselves to be defeated by a small body of about 500 English troops, under the Dacres and Musgraves; and it is said that about 1,000 of them were made prisoners, amongst whom were 200 noblemen, esquires, and gentlemen. A graphic description of this battle is given by the noble historian of Henry VIII., Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and is quoted in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland.*

APPENDIX.

The plan given is prepared from a survey of the earthwork on Arthuret Hills, undertaken by request. It shows a small enclosure, which occupies nearly the whole of the top of a natural mound lying south of Arthuret Church. The ground falls away very sharply, on three sides, for 40 or 50 feet, but on the south-east the slope is more gradual towards the modern road, which is cut through a depression in the long ridge known as Arthuret Hills. This ridge appears to be the division between two ancient estuaries; and the mound on which the earthwork stands forms its north-western extremity. The plain lies more than 100 feet below, extending to the fells of West Cumberland on one side, and to those of Scotland on the other,

with the Solway in front, towards which the Esk, not a mile distant, winds its way. It flowed close beneath the hill in the eighteenth century.

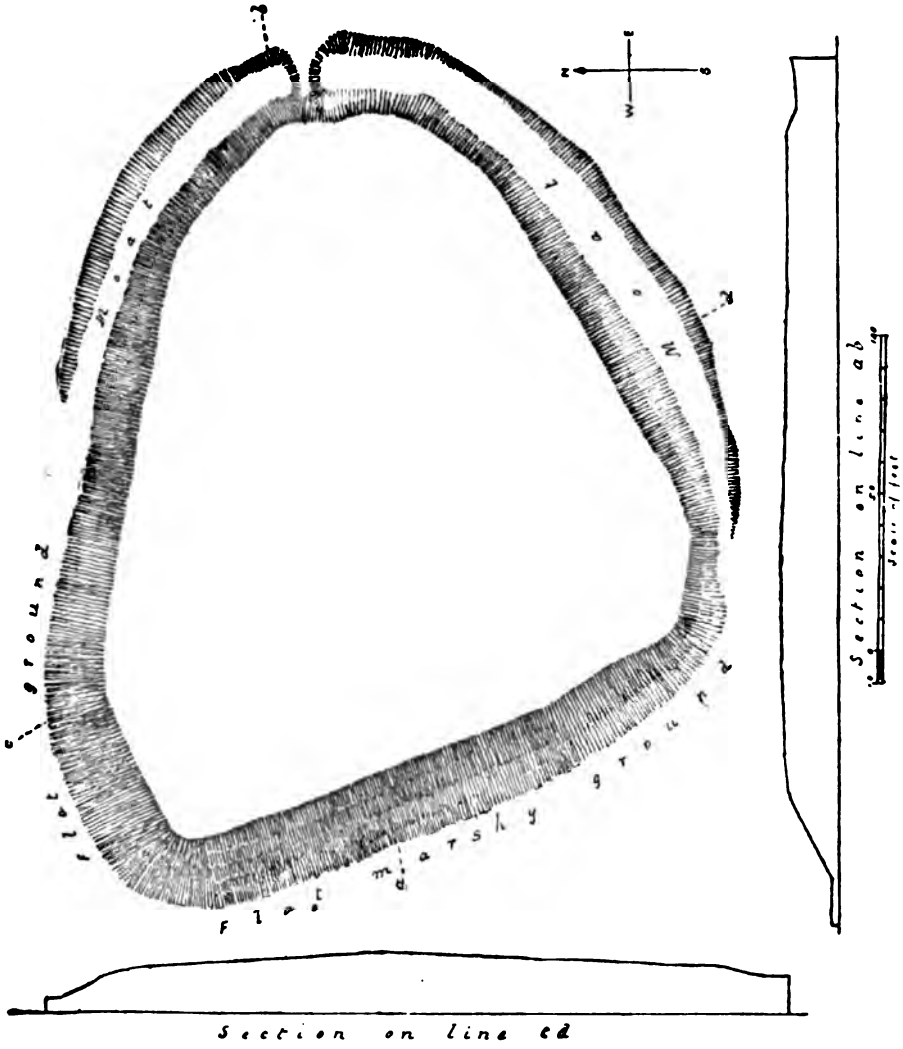
The earthwork is nearly square, though not very regular in form, and measures about 40 feet, more or less, each way. It is surrounded by a shallow ditch, two or three feet wide, which fades out on the south-western side. On the south-eastern side, and perhaps all along the ditch, there are signs of a very low rampart of earth, outside as well as inside the ditch. The inner rampart is continued all round the enclosure, but is quite small in size.

It is difficult to judge of the meaning of various slight irregularities in the levels of the interior, owing to the small and insignificant scale of the work. Two trees, and the stumps of several which have been cut down, standing within the enclosure, and several others just outside it, add greatly to the difficulty: but a shallow depression, five or six feet wide, crosses the enclosure from north-east to south-west, and seems to divide it into two parts, of which the south-eastern is slightly the higher. We could find no certain trace of an entrance, nor was there any sign of stonework of any kind.

The western corner is impinged upon by a gravel-pit, which has also caused a landslip all along the north-western face of the hill, that threatens to destroy the ditch on this side.

We saw nothing whatever to give us any clue to the date of the enclosure. Our member, Mr. R. G. Graham, who passed his boyhood in the neighbourhood, and who is much interested in its local traditions, tells us that he knows of none of any kind connected with the mounds.

T. H. H.
E. H.



HALLSTEADS. CASTLE CARROCK.

Surveyed and drawn by T. H. Hodgson, September, 1904.

ART. XVII.—*Hallsteads, Castle Carrock.* By his Honour JUDGE STEAVENSON, *with Plan and Description by* T. H. HODGSON, F.S.A., and MRS. HODGSON.

Read at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

TRADITION and the Ordnance Survey said that this was a fort: tradition also said it was prehistoric. There were doubters; there always have been since the time of Thomas. The Ordnance Survey of 1900 said that the fort was 1·264 acres in extent. It is situated on the lowest slope of a hill, one of the northern heights of the Pennine Range, with marsh or bog almost surrounding it, and leaving a somewhat narrow neck communicating with the hills. In front, therefore, it was protected by the bog; arrows and darts could hardly reach it from the solid grouud, and a better man than David could not sling a stone so far. It was supposed that when the poor garrison of savages were finally driven out, they could run to their pit dwellings on the slopes behind them, or hide in the impenetrable scrub of oak and thorn that covered the hillside, and there were miles of wild mountain beyond. Is it not a historic fact that the Roman legions were unable to follow the flying Britons into their native forests?

With this in mind, the writer, in September 1904, asked Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson to make a survey of the site. The plan they kindly supplied is printed opposite, and their description is here appended.

"As shown by the plan and sections, this is a mound of a roughly triangular shape. The top is nearly level, slightly higher towards the west than towards the east, and highest near the middle, but the extreme difference is slight, only about 2·5 feet. The base of the triangle,

about 170 feet in length, faces a little south of west, and here the bank, about 13 feet high, runs down to low ground, where a small stream wanders through damp, peaty soil. The apex, 200 feet from the base, is cut off from the rising ground on the slopes of Castle Carrock Fell by a ditch 3 feet deep, which is continued on the north and south-east sides of the triangle till it runs into the low ground. This ditch can never have held water, the east end being much higher than the west. A low bank on the outer side of the ditch is well marked. On the whole of the south-east side, and on part of the north-east it is surmounted by a hedge, but at the western end of the north side this hedge is almost in the ditch, and there are faint traces of the ditch bank in the adjoining field. There is a small piece of bank outside the west front, but it appears to be only the site of a hedge which, till a short time since, surrounded the earthwork on this side also. At the eastern end the ditch is crossed by a ramp of earth, just wide enough for a cart to pass, and rather lower than the general level of the top of the mound. It leads to a gate through the hedge into the adjoining field, and thence to the fells behind, but there is nothing to indicate whether it is ancient or modern."

In the autumn of 1904 the contractors for the Carlisle water-works began their operations, and it very soon became obvious that Hallsteads "fort" would fall a victim to the pick and shovel of the unsympathetic navvy. But the ever watchful antiquary was there, for was not this his chance to find the arrow head of prehistoric man, the stone implement, the short dagger of the Roman legionary, and some, or at least one of the treasures that mother earth stores for the happy, proud, and patient investigator? The engineers were approached. Courteous, thoughtful gentlemen, they heard the antiquary's high hopes, and promised that orders should be given to the men to be most careful and preserve anything unusual, and such their orders were. The men looked and worked,

HALLSTEADS, CASTLE CARROCK.

Photo by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

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and looked again, for was there not money to be had? And the antiquary, poor man, many an hour he spent watching in cold, in wet, in storm, and in hope. Opposite will be found an exact plan (most kindly supplied by Mr. A. W. Lewis, the resident engineer of the water-works) of what the pick and shovel did.

Probably more than 2,000 cubic yards of the fort have been removed. Castle Carrock Beck, which flowed at its foot, has been diverted to a new channel further west. The bog all round has been trenched and turned over, or carted away. Large filter-beds have been made hard by; many thousand cubic yards of bog and surface soil have been moved. The antiquary—where was he? He was there, but alas! no arrow heads, no celts, no stone implements, no bronze, no Roman dagger! As the months and years rolled by his heart grew sick, but "L'ultima che si perde è la speranza"—hope is the last thing we lose.

The reward came: for one fine day the navvy's pick struck a log of oak, black with age and bog. It was found a few yards south-west of the southern angle of the fort, two feet below the surface, and just in the peat, but covered with 18 inches of red clay earth. It measures 29½ inches in circumference, 8 inches thick, very roughly squared, leaving bevelled corners to the section. At one end is a tenon, of which the fragment remaining is 9½ inches long, originally perhaps a dovetail. The log has been shaped with axe and saw; it might be fancied to have been part of a Roman battering-ram, but was more probably a gatepost to a stockade.

Hallsteads was not an earthwork. The substance of the mound, as the engineers are agreed, was not "made earth." It had been laid down by water, or possibly by ice. The land in proximity was very carefully examined, but there was no appearance of any excavation out of which material for so large a "fort" could have been taken. Like the clay overlying the log, all the earth

of the site has been carried down the valley by floods, and subsequent floods have hewed the mass into the shape it presented before the water-works were begun. A little refuse, a mere outside coating, has been tipped over the side; and in this outside coating were found two gargoyles which, it is thought, were thrown there when the old church of Castle Carrock was restored in 1828.

Hallsteads, then, may have been a stockade on a natural mound, into which in "the good old days" the farmers of Castle Carrock drove their cattle when "the Scots o' the North came down." A part of the log and the gargoyles are now in the Tullie House Museum.

ART. XVIII.—*The Feoffees of the Cliffords, from 1283 to 1482.* By the REV. FREDERICK W. RAGG, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

I.—INTRODUCTION TO THE FEODARY OF THE FREEHOLDERS UNDER THOMAS LORD CLIFFORD.

THE feodary here transcribed seems to have been little noticed. It is part of the contents of vol. 40 of Agarde's Indexes in the Public Record Office. Possibly its occurring in an index volume while it itself was not an index may have caused it to be passed by. Possibly also its curious mistakes and omissions may have raised a prejudice against it, causing others to think as I did at first, that it was simply a late faulty copy of an original return, the defects of which made it of little value. But it is better not to be too ready to look on things as common or unclean, and a close perusal of the document brought that lesson home. The writing shows itself after all as of the time of Edward IV., which towards the end of the feodary we find professing to be its date. But from its own statement this was a revision of a feodary belonging to some thirty years before. And the feodary of thirty years before had chances also of error in it if it was put together from rough notes such as would be likely to be taken in making the investigation. Rough full notes first, then fair copy. Thus there are three chances of errors and sets of errors, especially if at any one of these steps there was taking down by word of mouth by one who was not versed in names of men and places. It would seem too that the compiler or compilers found difficulty in reading documents of two hundred years earlier. The names at any rate in some cases were greviously misread. But such as it is, and incomplete as

it is, it seems to be a genuine return of the fiefs and feoffees of the Clifford barony of "Westmerland," founded on an investigation made for the Thomas Lord Clifford, who was slain at St. Albans on May 22nd, 1454; the services of feoffees at the time of compilation being compared with older "evidences" and proofs.

At first it is not easy to feel sure whether the list of names of existing feoffees given belongs to 31 Henry VI. (1452), or to 22 Edward IV. (1482), and no easier to see to what period the "quondam" so often occuring refers. But both difficulties vanish on investigation, as I think the following argument will show. If we take for instance the case of "Hertha" (*i.e.* Harcla or Hartley) and "Longton"—the fourth entry—we find that Michael "Hertha" (Harcla) once (quondam) held these. Now Michael Harcla the father, evidently, of the ill-fated Andrew, Earl of Carlisle, occurs as Sheriff of Westmorland in 1275, of Cumberland 1285 to 1298. In 1308 Andrew appears in the Assize Rolls and Michael passes away: there was a Michael, apparently brother of Andrew, but he comes on a little later.* We get from this the wide limits of a period from about 1275 to about 1308 as the period of the "quondam"—the "once." We can narrow these limits down by the entry concerning Overton and "Waterby" (Watby). A moiety of each of these is stated to have been once (quondam) held by "Ranulfus nuper dominus de Dacre." Two Ranulfs there were amongst the earlier barons of Dacre; one who was in possession of his barony between 12 Edward II., and 13 Edward III. (1318-1339), but we want a still earlier Ranulf if we are to have one contemporary with that Michael Harcla used for hypothesis above. Ranulf, Lord of Dacre, between 52 Henry III., and 14 Edward I. (1268-1286), will do quite well, and from this Ranulf we get the later limit as 1286, the earlier as 1268. Then

* After Andrew's fall Hartley passed out of "Harcla" into Musgrave hands.

if we turn to "Meuburne Mald" (Meaburne Maud) we find Richard le Fraunceys given under the most curious of mistakes as "Ricardus leigh Fraunceys" as "once" holding that manor. Richard le Fraunceys succeeded his father Gilbert le Fraunceys (who died before March 7th, 1278) in the ownership of Meaburne Maud, after the inquisition held on June 29th, 1283, he having reached his twenty-first year on May 19th, preceding that. We thus get a great shrinkage in the limits to the period, viz., 1283-1286. Now at the Inquisitio post mortem of Roger de Clifford held in January, 1283, the jury say that the knights' fees (military fees) and tenancies have not been yet apportioned to Isabel, widow of Roger de Clifford, and to Idonea, wife of Roger de Leyburne, though Roger held part of the cornage and had the shrievalty at his death. We may, therefore, fairly imagine that the first "evidences" spoken of in the heading to the feodary were then only being put into shape, as well the Clifford as the Leyburn evidences for those fiefs to which the Cliffords afterwards became heirs. The apportionment was complete by April 28th, 1289, and probably some time before, for we find from the Inquisitio post mortem of William, son of Thomas (de Greystock), given in our feodary as "once" holding Dufton, that he held it of the Lady Idonea de Leyburne. Between 1283 and 1286 may be safely assumed to be the date referred to in "quondam"; and I think we cannot be wrong in settling 1283. Incidental evidence in other documents corroborates. For instance, in the Assize Roll of 16 Edward I. (1287-8) we find that Thomas de Musgrave, who "once" according to the feodary held several manors, is already dead and has been succeeded by Richard de Musgrave; that Thomas, son of Gilbert, is in possession of the Curwen holdings instead of Gilbert, son of Patrick, of the feodary; and in the next year's Assize Roll (1288-9) that Hugh, son of Geoffrey de Louther, and Inetta his wife are apparently in possession of Louther,

and not John Copeland, Adam Everington (=Haverington =Harrington) and Simon "Bowney" (of him later on) of the feodary; and that Robert de Morville given as "once" holding "Helton Flethan" (Helton Flechan) must be dead, for there was an action brought by William, son of Walter de Wessington, against Robert L'Engleys and Idonea his wife, apparently in a dispute about their share in Robert de Morville's lands. If each of these items would not be strong enough taken by itself as proof, the agreement of the testimony of all must surely be enough for evidence. Other witnesses could be produced, but I do not think they are needed.

Now let us see what we can make of the period of the feoffees given as existing. Henry Vernon, we are told, holds Meaburne Maud. Henry Vernon also held Haddon—as we know from other evidence—in Derbyshire. He succeeded his father William Vernon in 1467. Humphrey Lord Dacre holds the moieties of Overton and Watby. This Lord Dacre was nominally heir to his brother Ranulf, killed at Towton in 1461, and came into actual possession after the attainder was reversed, but was not summoned to Parliament as Lord Dacre before 22 Edward IV. (March 4th, 1482), and 22 Edward IV. is the date which occurs in the heading of the second part of the feodary. I do not think we need search further. The feoffees given as existing cannot be those of 1452, but those of 1482.

I have not given all the compiler's slips from past tense into present (tenet for tenuit—debet for debuit); the contraction for the present tense was shorter, and he did not trouble apparently if he thought his meaning clear enough; nor have I given his curious separations of single Latin words into two—these things would have entailed a troublesome, and I think to the reader, irritating set of notes. What the document was intended to tell is what concerns us. Any error at all of moment I have kept and commented upon.

Having got the feodary into such form that we can begin to understand it, we can turn our attention to its contents and to the tenures which it describes. Can we conjecture why or in what circumstances it was compiled? I think we can. At the ending of the whole is a copy of the Patent Roll of 21 Richard II. (1398) granting to Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, for life, the Clifford rights in the fiefs. Ralph Nevill to whom this grant was made lived on till October 21st, 1425. His contemporary John Lord Clifford, who was thus disinherited by the King, was hardly ten years old at the time of the grant to Ralph Nevill. His father had done good service for his King. The grant looks like a specimen of King Richard's method of rewarding, if it was not as well a specimen of a Nevill's grasping. John Lord Clifford, however, was killed at the siege of Meaux, March 13th, 1422, leaving his eldest son Thomas (born in August, 1414) still a child, and of course Ralph Nevill still was in possession of the heritage of which he had been deprived. Thomas could not claim anything when Ralph died, nor for nearly ten years afterwards, August, 1435, when he became of age. This is the Thomas Lord Clifford for whom the feodary was made; and one can easily understand that he might well have need for investigation and for appeal to the "evidences" and "views" of his ancestors, all the way up to the beginning of the Clifford inheritance in the barony. An alienation to Ralph Nevill, lasting from 1398 to 1425, followed by a wardship of the heir and his estates—which of itself not seldom could be a cause of fleecing—for ten years till 1435, might easily find room for thickets of uncertainty to grow and for wastes by trespass and encroachment in the heir's paternal heritage. But why so long an interval—1435 to 1452—before the compilation, if this be supposed as cause or as one contributing cause of it? Encroachments might not be discovered all at once; investigation takes long and evidences take time to collect and search through, to say

nothing of disputes taking time for settlement. Not till all is done would come the time for tabulating all. This suggestion of the reason for compiling is, however, only suggestion of a possibility.*

Now the Letter Patent might be thought to rehearse in the actual words the grant of King John to which it refers. But this is not the case. It tells very much the same tale in words not quite the same, and adds particulars of the rights granted which may be implied in King John's charter, but are not mentioned. But these concern us little; the limits of the grant are what concern us, and not even in these do the original charter and the Patent Letter tally completely. King John granted to Robert de Veteripont and his heirs the services of all that held of him in the county of Westmorland who did not hold "per servicium militare," so the charter says; the Letter Patent says 'except the services of those that held of him "per servicium militare."' It comes to the same thing no doubt, but "servicium militare" in both deeds in describing the limits of the grant could only mean "by knight service." There is no difficulty in that, but the Letter Patent goes on to say "coronagium . . quod est in effectu *servicium militare*," and the heading of our feodary states the holdings enumerated in its first part to be those held "per coronagium *quod est servicium militare*." And more, the feodary implies that cornage gives, and the Letter Patent states that cornage gives and always did give (dat . . et a toto tempore dedit) "custodia," "maritagium," and "relevium"—the right of having the wardship of heir or heiress under age, and of the estates (custodia)—wardship; the right of disposing in marriage of the heir or heiress if left by a father's death under age

* A possibility that is dawn light, not day light. For from the Inquisitio p. mortem of Thomas Lord Clifford, 28th September, 1454, we learn that on August 5th, 1444, he had placed all his Westmorland estates in the hands of interim feoffees (trustees) of whom a John Wharton was one; and that the estates so remained till after his death. Was it these feoffees who needed exact particulars and sought them?

(maritagium)—"marriage": the right to the relief (relevium), a sort of death duty to be paid, when the heir or heiress after proof of being of age was put in, before entrance into possession. These three—"custodia," "maritagium," and "relevium"—were, as Pollock and Maitland in their magnificent *History of English Law* show, rights attached to "servicium militare," rights the feudal lord had over his feoffees holding by that tenure. There can then be no doubt about the cornage tenure. It was "servicium militare." And all the Clifford feoffees except those who held in socage, to which we shall come hereafter, were holding by this tenure, nor is there any reason to suppose the tenures altered after the grant was made to Robert de Veteripont except possibly in the case of the few drengs.

It seems to be the case, we shall conclude, that "servicium militare" is used in these documents in two different senses, and that it was somewhat vague, a term of wide embrace. It has been somewhat too exclusively thought of as being only knights' service—the service done and due for a knight's fee usually called "feodum militis," to which several might contribute; for there are plenty of instances of men holding by service of a fractional part of a knight's fee. But this does not apply to cornage.* The knight and his fee are not divided up into aliquot parts in any document that I know of to describe the cornage holding. And, indeed, we have Maitland in his illuminating way suggesting that all were not knights who held by military tenure, and that even some of those who were knights, were only a sort of yeomen. If we look at the instances of free tenures of Appleby and Nether Burgh in the tabulations I give for illustration, we can easily see that very poorly harnessed and caparisoned would be the

* In the Inquisitio post mortem of Isabel de Clifford, (Esch. Inq., series 1, file 1, 20 Edward I, 1292), her share of the fiefs is given under the headings of "Feoda Militum" and "Alba Firma." Which these were is shown in the tabulations. Feoda militum could hardly in this instance be knights' fees, but must be military fees.

"miles" (knight) which such holdings could equip. And then again we find that the payment of cornage and therefore tenure by cornage can go at least two deep. Assize Roll, No. 979 (40 Henry III.), has a case in which Thomas de Hellebek was summoned to answer why he did not perform the services he owed to Alan de Cabergh for land he held of Alan in Wardecop, part of these services being the payment of 3½d. "ad cornagium"—the very term which our feodary uses over and over again. We must not take this to be equivalent to a rent paid by Thomas to Alan to help Alan to pay his cornagium, because the addition of the words "ad cornagium" only apply to that particular sort of due for a holding held by military service. Alan de Cabergh himself turns up in our feodary, but nowhere as holding lands in Wardecop, so that unless he was one of the small holders there who are lumped together as "tenentes ad voluntatem"—"tenants at will"—at the end of the cornage tenants, he might probably be holding, by cornage, land in Wardecop himself under the owner of the moiety of Warcop, which was held by cornage. We should then have cornage tenants three deep;* and however far it went down, tenure by cornage would carry, as Richard's Letter Patent says it does and always did—wardship, marriage, and relief. We can see through the dark more easily if we take it that "servicium militare" is used in the vague width of meaning which can include higher and lower ranks, the service of the officer, the service of the rank and file—the service of the knight, the service of the men whom the knight led. Since they knew what they meant they did not see the need of separating out another term, "servicium equitum," and leaving "servicium militare" to be "servicium militum"—that of the private soldier only. Taking things in this way, we can get a good grip on the

* I imagine that the boundary line between the lower or lowest tenant by cornage, and the tenants holding by the famous tenant right was vague and probably disappeared.

exceptions made by King John, and find the limits of the grant.

The county of Westmorland at the time of the grant included, as the Pipe Rolls show, and had included for some years, the whole of what we now call Westmorland. Richard I. had granted to Gilbert fitz Roger fitz Reinfred the barony of Kendal, which seems to have reached on the west to the bounds of Yanwath, including Hartsop, Patterdale, Barton, and Sockbridge; and to have had an outlier islanded inside the barony of Appleby—Morland and its manors,* except Maud's Meaburne and Bolton. King's Meaburne seems to have been separate from either barony, and yet it is set down in the Inquisitio post mortem of 24 Edward III., 1351, of Robert le Botiller as being a Clifford manor and in the King's hands only by reason of the non-age of the Clifford heir. Temple Sowerby is the remaining fief not in Clifford hands, but was not likely to have been included in the exceptions of John's grant.† Gilbert fitz Reinfred was let off pretty easily. For the larger half of Westmorland he not only was allowed the cornage, but he had to find simply two knights. Kendal was to be a fee of two knights; Veteriponts and Cliffords had four to find; Gilbert's feoffees by cornage would be in the same position as the feoffees by cornage of the Cliffords.

A little awkward in this military service, when one tenant held by that service under different lords, would matters sometimes be. It was all very well when all that the feoffee had was under one lord; but when, for instances, the Dacres, and the Curwens of Workington and the Vernons of Haddon happened to leave heir or heiress under age, holding as they did under different lords, the adjustment between all superior lords as to the marriage

* Of these, however, Melkinthorpe was feudally within the barony of Appleby under the service of a mewed sparrow hawk yearly due from the owner of the Kendal barony, as appears below among the socage entries (fee farm).

† It must be this that occurs once and apparently only once in the Inquisitions —that of Isabel de Clifford, 1292, in the fee farm (socage) list.

would mean impoverishing the estates; and it is not a matter of wonderment that the tenant by military service sought so often to betroth his child while still an infant in order to stave off a worse fate for the possessions and the heir.

A matter in our feodary which needed some thought to settle was that throughout it "wardum" occurs and not "warda." Warda is guardianship, equivalent to "custodia"; "wardum" is usually taken to mean castle-guard, or payment for castleguard. The reasons why one feels compelled to take "wardum" in this document as being wardship of an heir and not castleguard are first that something is wanted, added to "maritagium" and "relevium," to answer to "custodia" so that we may have the two series in identity—custodia maritagium, relevium—and "wardum" fills the post, wardum, maritagium, relevium; then again "si contingebat" is attached to it "if it occurred" words which would not be needed for a yearly tax for repairing and maintaining the castles of the barony which were aids in the King's defence of his realm; and next that in the Inquisitiones post mortem which give the valuation of the dues to the barony *custodia* which was one of them is not given but *wardum* and the sum total is set down as summa wardorum distinctly, not wardarum. Yet one of these Inquisitions has a further puzzle the solution of which I am not yet prepared to give; to some of the items "valet wardum" such and such a sum is attached; to others "valet warda de wardo" such and such a sum. What the warda of the wardum was, will take some further investigation. But a last reason for taking wardum to be wardship is the amount given as the value. As a tax I think it would be something more than excessive. Heavy enough would be the cornage dues together with the obligation of military service which would mean fitting yourself with arms and armour and serving without pay, providing for your own necessities, except in so far as the inadequate

payment made by the King went—if any were made. And if such a heavy tax as that at which the wardum was valued were added on to these, no man could live. I take the valuation to be the amount which the estates in each case could produce yearly as its lord's profits. This would be what the man who agreed to give a lump sum for the wardship would wish to know: and this would be the valuation of that, "when it occurred" to the baron whose feoffee's estate had to find it. Of this I have something to say later on.

The grant to Robert de Veteripont was for the service of four knights; that is, the barony of Appleby or "Westmerland" was four knights' fees. But what one notices is that the obligation thus imposed on the Veteriponts and their heirs to find four knights did not exempt their free tenants from having to serve in a greater number than four if any of them had land enough or rental high enough for knighthood. When the Veteripont or the Clifford had found his four, he had done all that was required and no more could be claimed of him, so that he had nothing to say upon the matter. But the Assize Roll of 40 Henry III. tells us that the Valletti (officials of the Assize Court of some sort) who were to report on the numbers of men who possessed enough to make them of standing to be knights stated that William de Lindesey, William de Greystoke, Thomas de Hastings, Thomas de Musgrave, William de Kyrketon. Alexander Mauchil, Henry de Trekkeld, Gilbert de Engayne * and Henry de Stanell were of age, had sufficient estate for whole knights' fees and had not taken up knighthood. Nothing is said of those who had complied with the King's orders, but here are nine who had not; and the whole that the two baronies of the county were to supply was six. This is a little like exaction on the King's part although one knows the statute existed which required knighthood in those of certain standings. These might have been holders in

* Gilbert Engayne as will appear later was a dreng.

other counties besides Westmorland, but the point is that they were reported for not taking up knighthood for what they held in Westmorland.

We may now turn to the second part of the feodary, the feodi firma (fee farm) or alba firma (white farm), *i.e.*, the tenure which renders its dues in money payments, "white money" (alba),—silver that is,—which includes lesser coin. These the heading of the second part tells us held in socagio—in socage; and here again we are helped by Maitland's clear thought and realizing grasp. He defines socage as a tenure that is free but is not spiritual nor military nor serviential—this last is special service of some particular sort. The socage tenants held under various terms: they discharged their dues, some by a nominal rent—so we may term it—a rose given on a certain day, a pair of spurs or other small "gift," specified usually in family arrangements and settlements, some by a smaller or larger rent, and some by a rent and also by doing certain sorts of labour on the lord's land: dues of socage could be dues in money and dues in kind, and toil. This socage tenancy Maitland believes was a relic of older days; it was that form of tenure into which drengage (if, I suggest, drengage did not *begin* with that), and tenure by military service, and in fact all other tenures were gradually changed. In fact it was a forerunner of modern tenancies without their limit of a fixed number of years. In the Westmorland tenancies we find sometimes a mixture; for instance the tenant or feoffee of Orton besides his cornage has a serjeanty; he held his lord's stirrup, (see the entry in the text): thus his tenure was military tenure and serviential tenure: Johanna de Mallerstang (as the Inquisitio post mortem of Thomas Lord Clifford, who died 18th August, 1391, tells us) besides paying cornage provided a cradle * whenever

* Unam cunā; for unam cunabulam. This service is recorded in only one of the Inquisitions. At least if it is mentioned in any of the others it is in the part which is illegible. The Lady was of course the wife of the Baron of Westmorland. See the tabulation, Nether Burgh, 1392.

the Lady had a child. But on the whole the socage tenures are distinct, though it was quite possible for a feoffee to hold one tenure by cornage and another by socage. Cases of this sort appear under "Rukby" and Milneburne.

But how many were the original drengs? And what became of the drengage tenancies, we are wanting to ask, and in what way did drengage differ from other tenures? Of the tenure itself I would rather write at some future date, when I hope to know more about it. But what about the numbers? According to the Oblata Roll of 2 John 1200-1201, where the names also are given, 17 drengs paid a sum agreed on (a "fine") that they might not have to cross the sea in the King's service; by the next year according to the Pipe Roll one more must have joined the 17, for the payments of 18 are accounted for. We cannot be sure therefore that there were not more. But by means of some of the names given in the Oblata Roll we can discover with probability, I venture to think, into what form of tenure these were lapsing.

The names given are:—

		LATER TENURE.	MERGED INTO
Walter de Harcla	Hartley*		cornage
Walter fitz Durand	(not identified)		
Robert fitz Roberti de Suleby	Soulby	a Musgrave tenure	cornage
William de Askeby	Askby Wynanderwaith (moiety)	an Askby tenure	cornage
John Tailbois	Cliburn, Askham, Bampton, &c.	Tailboys	cornage
William Mauchal	Crakanthorpe	Mauchael	cornage
Henry de Cundal	Bampton	Cundal	cornage
Alan Pincerna (le Botiller)	King's Meaburne and elsewhere	le Botiller	
Nicholaus fitz Roberti	(not identified)		

* These place-names are not given in either Roll, but are names of places in which from other sources we find these families held land in the 13th century.

		LATER TENURE.	MERGED INTO
Ricardus Anglicus (L'Engleys)	Askby Parva	L'Engleys	cornage
Hugh de Cotesford	Askby Wynanderwath (moiety)	Cotesford	cornage
Richard fitz Acher (?)	(not identified)		
Reginald fitz William	(not identified)		
William de Clifton	Clifton	Engayne	castle service and cornage.
Gilbert de Broham	Brougham	Brougham	cornage
William de Tirneby	Thrimby		
John de Morville	Helton Flechan	L'Engleys	cornage

The drengs left in 8 Edward II., 1314, were :—

Gilbert Engayne	Clifton	cornage
Adam de Coupland	Louther	cornage
The heir of Geoffrey or (? Walter) fitz Hervey	Cliburne	socage and cornage ?
William de Ty[ ] (Tylia)	Cliburne	socage and cornage ?
Robert de Soureby	Cliburne	socage and cornage ?
Hugh	(?)	

These are all the names that are legible; from the space in the Inquisitio I do not think there were more, but they are stated to hold diverse tenements in Cliburn, Clifton, Louther, and Melkinthorpe per "servicium drengorum."

A large proportion of those which can be traced with probability it would seem were changed into cornage. It was evidently the passing away of old things and the coming of new.

The third part of the feodary either was not made out or it has been lost. It is referred to in the entry about Clifton as "servicia castri de Burgham," services connected with Brougham Castle. This may have been serjeanty.

One note about the Westmorland socage tenants. From claims brought forward in some of the Assize Rolls, as for instance in Roll 979 (40 Henry III.), one made by Constance, widow of Nicholas de Crakanthorp, against

Alexander Mauchal, it is clear that the wardship in these cases of both heir and land of the husband was in law the right of the widow and not of the feudal lord. This we learn from Maitland was the general, not the universal rule.

I now turn to the entries in the feodary. If I give here the formula of one of the cornage entries in full translated, and hints as to the variations in those which are not given in full I think we may save much space needed for notes and avoid repeating over and over again, to little purpose for intelligent readers, the same terms. Any variations which differ from the common formula I can explain as they occur.

That formula in full is this:—"*A.B.* once held as freehold the manor of *X* with its appurtenances as *m* carucates of land, and paid for cornage yearly at Easter and Michaelmas *y* shillings. He owed wardship marriage and relief and suit (sectam) to the county of Westmorland from month to month.* And wardship, when it occurred that there was any, was worth yearly *x* marks (at 13s. 4d.) (or *z* pounds); relief was paid 'per finem'—*i.e.*, by agreement, and marriage (dues) when they were to be had. And now *C.D.* holds the aforesaid manor by the same services and pays yearly for cornage *y* shillings."

In order to save himself repetition instead of writing after wardum "ut contingebat" (as it occurred) the compiler writes "&c.," in subsequent entries, and instead of repeating "maritagium prout habendi" (when it was to be had) and "relevium per finem"—he writes "de maritagio et relevio ut supra," or "ut prius," "as stated above."

Of the socage entries it is better to give the gist, each as it occurs. It is interesting to find that with very rare

* That is, his lord could claim from his estate the rights of wardship and its profits, the right of giving his heir or heiress (under age) in marriage (and make profit by so doing), and the "succession duty" (relevium); and required his attendance from month to month at the county court (not then merely a court of debt). The hereditary shrievalty made the county court of Westmorland the Clifford's baronial court.

exceptions the holdings subject to cornage are described as of three carucates or multiples or subdivisions of three; and that the cornage payments—payments per head of cattle—seem to have no relation to the carucates, which were plough-land. This makes one surmise that the cornage was due on cattle for feeding and cattle for work, part only of the cattle which the grass would feed being needed for the plough. The carucate is clearly an assessment dating from the times before such records of the Kings' courts as remain begin, and into this land of the silent and into the true connexion between this assessment and the cornage assessment we can only hope to enter by means of such charters and muniments of those times as remain and are accessible. The cornage payment reminds one of the swine dues of the South of England, in spite of the difference which exists between them. The dues per head of swine are I think nowhere set down as entailing "servicium militare."

II.—Feodary of the Freeholders under Thomas Lord Clifford.

Feodarium Serviciorum et liberorum tenementorum reddituum omnium militum armigerorum et aliorum liberorum tenentium quorumcunque infra Comitatum Westmerlande qui tenent libere de domino Thoma domino de Clifford et de Westmerlanda ut de baronia de Westmerlanda per coronagium quod est servicium militare, renovatum per Johannem Wharton auditorem dicti domini et alios de consilio suo, inspectis prius visis et examinatis antiquis feodariis et aliis evidenciis antecessorum dicti domini, ut pro uno anno, finiente ad festum S. Michaelis Archangeli Anno

Feodary of services and rents of free tenements of all knights gentlemen and other freeholders whatsoever within the County of Westmorland who have freehold under Lord Thomas, lord of Clifford and of Westmoreland, by cornage which is military service; renewed by John Wharton auditor for the said Lord Thomas and by others of his council, after looking into surveys and examining ancient feodaries and other evidences belonging to the ancestors of the said Lord Thomas: the return being of one year's services ending at Michaelmas in the 31st year of Henry VI. (and

regnorum Henrici Sexti xxxi Edwardi quarti [22*].

again renewed) in the (22*) year of Edward IV.

* The number of the year is not given here, but it occurs in the second part "The Alba Firma" as 22.

CORONAGIUM WESTMERLANDE.

Hellebek.

Thomas Helbek quondam tenuit libere manerium de Helbek cum pertinentiis pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit ad terminos Pasche et Michaelis 6s. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui Westmerlande de mensi in mensem. Et valebat wardum cum contingebat annuatim 20 merkes, relevium per finem, et maritagium prout habendi potuit. Et modo Thomas Blenkensopp tenet predictum manerium per eadem servicia, et reddit per annum ad coronagium 6s

Helbeck.

Thomas Helbek* once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 6s. Wardship was worth 20 marks yearly. Thomas Blenkensopp holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 6s.

* Thomas de Hellebek, besides holding these manors directly, held land in Warcop under Alan de Cabergh. His wife was Amicia, daughter of Thomas de Musgrave.

Ascom.

Idem Thomas Helbek quondam tenuit libere manerium de Ascom pro iij carucatis terre, et reddidit annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis 50s 9d: et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat valere wardum cum contingebat £20. Et de relevio et maritagio ut supra. Ac debuit sectam Comitatui ut supra. Et modo Thomas Sandford tenet dictum manerium per eadem servicia et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 50s 9d

Askham.

The same Thomas Helbek once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 50s. 9d. Wardship was worth £20 yearly. Thomas Sandford holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 50s. 9d.

Cabergh.

Alanus Cabergh quondam tenuit libere manerium de Cabergh cum pertinentis pro iij carucatis terre, et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 17s 8d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium &c ut supra. Et solebat valere wardum cum contingebat £20. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et debuit sectam ut supra. Et modo Alanus Fulthrope tenet idem manerium per servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis, ultra 6s 8d de alba firma ejusdem ut patet postea intra 'Albam Firmam Westmerlande' 17s 8d

Kaber.

Alan Cabergh* once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 17s. 8d. Wardship was worth £20 yearly. Alan Fulthrope holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 17s. 8d—besides 6s. 8d. from the 'alba firma' (fee farm) there, as appears under 'Feodi firma Westmerlande' hereafter 17s. 8d.

* Alan de Cabergh had a wife Alice. They held lands also in Lowther. Alan was son of Hugh de Cabergh, and had an elder brother Robert, who died s.p.—Assize Roll, 979, 40 Henry III.

Hertha Longton.

Michaell Hertha quondam tenuit libere manerium de Hertha Nun* Langton cum pertinentiis pro vi carucatis terre et reddidit pro utroque ad festa predicta ad coronagium 7s 4d. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim &c £40. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et nunc Ricardus Musgrave tenet dictum manerium de Hertha per omnia servicia predicta et reddit annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis [ ]. Et dictum manerium de Langton est in manu domini. Et sic eorum magis inde annuatim debitum, set 12s 4d per annum est extinctum 12s 4d

Hartley and Langton.

Michael Hertha once held Hertha, now (?) Langton, for 6 carucates. Cornage paid was 7s. 4d. Wardship was worth £40 yearly. Richard Musgrave holds Hertha now by the same services, and pays for cornage [†] And the said manor of Langton is in the hands of the lord. And so more is owed from them yearly,‡ but 12s. 4d. is 'extinct.'

* What the "nun" is intended for I do not understand. If it were not so plainly *nun*, one might be satisfied with 'cum' Langton. Langton seems to have been an escheat to the Cliffords later on. † The amount is not given. ‡ I think this is an error.

Musgrave Magna.

Thomas Musgrave quondam libere tenuit Magnam Musgrave pro iij carucatis terre, et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 4s 2d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Solebat wardum valere annuatim cum contingebat [ ]. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et modo Ricardus Musgrave tenet idem manerium 4s 2d

* The amount is not given.

Great Musgrave.

Thomas Musgrave once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 4s. 2d. Wardship was worth [*] yearly. Richard Musgrave holds it now 4s. 2d.

Morton.

Idem Thomas Musgrave quondam tenuit libere Moreton pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum terminis predictis ad coronagium predictum 6s. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere annuatim &c [ ]. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et nunc predictus Ricardus Musgrave tenet idem manerium per servicia predicta &c 6s

* The amount is not given.

Murton.

The same Thomas Musgrave once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 6s. Wardship was worth [*] yearly. Richard Musgrave holds it now by the same services 6s.

Souleby.

Predictus Thomas Musgrave quondam tenuit Souleby pro iij carucatis terre, exceptis tenementis quondam Thome Benet nunc Hugonis Louthre et tenementis quondam Ricardi Sandford nunc Thome Wharton pro parte. Et reddidit ad coronagium per annum terminis predictis 13s 8d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat valere wardum cum

Soulby.

The aforesaid Thomas Musgrave once held this for 3 carucates except the tenements then held by Thomas Benet, now by Hugh Louthre and those held then by Richard Sandford, now by Thomas Wharton in part. Cornage was 13s. 8d. The aforesaid Richard Musgrave now holds Souleby the above excepted tenements excepted, and pays for cornage 13s. 8d.

contingit (?) £30. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc predictus Ricardus Musgrave tenet dictum manerium de Souleby per omnia servicia predicta exceptis terris predictis superius exceptis, et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 13s 8d

Warcopp et Wateby medietas.

Ricardus Warcop* quondam libere tenuit Warcopp et medietatem de Wateby Angnes pro iij carucatis et dimidiis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 17s 8d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim cum contingebat £30. Et nunc dictus dominus Latymer tenet (manerium) de Warcopp per servicia predicta et reddit ad coronagium per annum 13s 9d ultra 13d solutos per Robertum Warcopp ut patet intra 'Albam Firmam Westmerlande,' ac ultra 12d solutos Collectori (?) de Burgh per annum. Et eciam Thomas Breauchamp tenet dictam medietatem de 'Waterby' (et) reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 17s 8d

[Note in margin has 'Waterby per annum ad coronagium 14s 10d] '

Warcop and Waitby Agnes moiety.

Richard Warcop once held Warcopp and a moiety of Wateby Angnes for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 17s. 8d. Wardship was worth £30 yearly. 'The said lord Latymer' now holds Warcopp by the same services and pays for cornage 13s. 9d. besides 13d. paid by Robert Warcopp as appears in 'Alba Firma' (feodi 'firma' below) and besides 12d. paid yearly to the Collector (Collectors?) of Burgh. Thomas 'Breauchamp' also holds the said moiety of 'Waterby' and pays for cornage 14. 10d.

17s. 8d.

* Richard de Wardecopp was a defendant in a suit in 1277 (Assize Roll No. 980). He seems to have been a son of Alan de Wardecopp (Lowther Muniments) and to have had an elder brother William. The 'Angnes' seems to be the name of an old owner: whether its curious spelling is for Augnes, or is a doubling of the 'n' I cannot be sure. I have found it elsewhere. The name being attached to both moieties seems to point to another Waitby as existing in the county somewhere once. Breauchamp is a mistake for Beauchamp.

Overton Watby medietas.

Ranulphus nuper dominus de Dacre quondam libere tenuit medietatem de Overton 5s 1d et medietatem de Waterby Angnes predicta pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis 12s 6d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium set non sectam Comitatui. Et valebat annuatim wardum &c £40. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et nunc Humfridus dominus de Dacre tenet dictam medietatem de Overton per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 6s 1d. Et Johannes Louthre tenet dictam medietatem de Waterby et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis [ ]. Et reddit per annum ad coronagium pro Overton 5s 1d et Wateby 7s 5d

12s 6d

Orton and Waitby Agnes (moieties.)

Ranulf late Lord of Dacre once held a moiety of Overton (5s. 1d.) and a moiety of Waterby Angnes for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 12s. 6d. Wardship was worth £40 yearly. Humphrey lord Dacre holds it now by the same services and pays for cornage 6s. 1d.; and John Louthre holds the moiety of Waterby and pays for cornage [*]. He (Lord Dacre) pays for cornage for Overton 5s. 1d.: for Wateby 7s. 5d

12s. 6d.

* The amount is not given, it would be a sum settled on by agreement between him and the Lord of Dacre.

Crosby Gerard. Overton medietas. Parva Musgrave.

Robertus de Souleby* quondam libere tenuit Crosby Gerard pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit ad coronagium 10s 2d, et Parvam Musgrave pro i carucata terre et reddidit annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis 12s 2d, et medietatem de Overton pro i carucata et dimidia terre et reddidit ad coronagium terminis

Crosby Garret, Orton moiety, and Little Musgrave.

Robert de Souleby once held Crosby Gerard for 3 carucates. Cornage paid was 10s. 2d.: and Little Musgrave for 1 carucate. Cornage 12s. 2d.; and a moiety of Overton for 1 carucate and a half; cornage 5s. 1d. Wardship from Crosby and Little Musgrave was worth £34 yearly; from Overton £30. Thomas

predictis 5s 1d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et wardum de Crosby et parva Musgrave solebat valere per annum &c £34 et wardum de Overton £30 annuatim. Et debuit maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et nunc Thomas Laton de Sexhowe † in Cleveland tenet dictam medietatem de Overton et reddit ad coronagium annuatim 5s 1d, et omnia servicia predicta. Et Ricardus Musgrave tenet tres partes, et Prior de Watton tenet quartam partem de Crosby et reddunt ad coronagium annuatim 10s 2d et omnia servicia predicta, et idem Riacrdus Musgrave nunc tenet dictam Parvam Musgrave et reddit ad coronagium terminis predictis 11s 2d et omnia servicia predicta. Et qui nunc tenet dict(am) carucat(am) terre in Appulby ‡ ignoro et tamen suppono quod est in manu domini per antiquam adquisitionem inde factam quia nunc nihil reddit ad coronagium. Et nunc reddit pro coronagio de Crosby 8s 2d Musgrave 12s 2d et medietate de Overton ut patet hic superius. Summa in toto &c 24s 9d

Laton of Sexhowe in Cleveland holds the moiety now and pays for cornage 5s. 1d. yearly. The same services. And Richard Musgrave holds 3 parts and the Prior of Watton the 4th part of Crosby, and they pay for cornage 10s. 2d. Services the same. And the same Richard Musgrave now holds Little Musgrave and pays for cornage 11s. 2d. 'And who holds the said carucate of land in Appulby I do not know, but I suppose it is in the hands of the lord by an old resumption, because it pays no cornage.' Cornage now for Crosby is 8s. 2d.; for Musgrave 12s. 2d. for the moiety of Overton as above. Total 24s. 9d.

* Robert de Souleby, Kt., was a witness to a deed of arrangement between Robert le Engleys, Kt., and Robert de Crosby Gerard, after a dispute about pasture in Crosby Gerard (Lowther Muniments). † Sexhow is in the parish of Rudby in Yorkshire, North Riding. ‡ This carucate in Appleby is not mentioned elsewhere. I have so far found nothing which explains the difficulty.

Sandford. Burton.

Ricardus Sandford quondam libere tenuit Sandford et Burton pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit

Sandford and Burton.

Richard Sandford once held Sandford and Burton for 3 carucates. Cornage was 19s. 7d.

per annum terminis predictis ad coronagium 19s 7d. Et deb(uit) wardum de Sandford et Burton annuatim 100s. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Thomas Warcop * de Colby filius Thome Warcop nuper Vicarii de Kirkeby Stephan ut de jure Katrine uxoris ejusdem Vicarii; et Christopher Bardsay et Margareta uxor ejus ut de jure ejusdem Margarete filiarum et coheredum Roberti Sandford armigeri tenent Sandford per omnia servicia predicta et reddunt ad coronagium per annum 3s 4d. Et debent sectam Comitatui. Et Christopher Helton de Burton tenet Burton per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium 13s 4d
Summa in toto per annum 16s 8d

Wardship from Sandford and Burton was 100s. yearly. Sandford now is held by Thomas Warcop of Colby, son of Thomas Warcop, lately Vicar of Kirkby Stephan, in right of Katrine, wife of the same Vicar; and by Christopher Bardsay and Margaret, his wife, as Margaret's right. These two were daughters and coheirs of Robert Sandford, Esquire. Services the same. Cornage 3s. 4d. Christopher Helton of Burton, holds Burton. Services the same. He pays for cornage 13s. 4d.
Total 16s. 8d.

* Thomas de Warthecopp and Katrina his wife, and also Christopher Bardsey and his wife Margaret, are given in the Inquisition of 1442 (see tabulations) as owners, by right of the wives. It is from the feodary that we learn that Thomas de Warthecopp was of Colby and was a Vicar. The whole of the land of Sandford owed suit, and when it was divided it seems that both owners owed it. Burton seems to have gone quite separately from Sandford, from a time previous to 1314, remaining throughout the period in Helton possession.

Helton Bacon.

Thomas Ollerton* et Robertus Bacon quondam tenuerunt libere Helton Bacon pro iij carucatis terre et reddiderunt ad coronagium 13s 8d terminis predictis, et debuerunt wardum maritagium et relevium. Et ipse Thomas debuit sectam Comitatui. Et valebat wardum &c £13. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et nunc Ricardus Ristwald et Rogerus Helton tenent dictam villam per servicium militare et quisque eorum

Helton Bacon.

Thomas Ollerton and Robert Bacon once held this for 3 carucates, and paid for cornage 13s. 8d. Thomas owed suit to the court. Wardship was worth £13 yearly. Richard Ristwald and Roger Helton hold it now by military service and each of them has the part (of the manor) for which Thomas aforesaid owed suit to the county. Cornage paid 13s. 8d.

habet partem (pro) qua (?) predictus Thomas debuit sectam Comitatui. Et reddunt per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 13s 8d

* Ollerton is an error for Ellerton or Hellerton. Most curious is the way in which the names Bacon and Helton recur in the Inquisitions as possessors of a moiety of this fief. It would seem that suit to the county was not owed for all Hilton but only for that moiety which Thomas de Hellerton held; and since Richard Ristwald and Roger Helton each had part of that, suit was required from each.

Askby Wynandrawaith medietas.

Robertus Askby* quondam dam tenuit medietatem de Askby et Wynandrawaith pro iij carucates terre et una carucata in Winton (et) solebat reddere per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 19s, et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et valebat wardum annuatim &c £40. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Christopher Moresby miles tenet dictam medietatem de Askby et Wynandrawaith ac unam carucatam terre in Winton per omnia servicia predicta et reddit ad coronagium per annum pro Askby 12s

Asby Winderwath, a moiety of Asby.

Robert Askby once held a moiety of Askby and Wynandrawaith for 3 carucates and 1 carucate in Winton. Cornage was 19s. Wardship was worth £40. Christopher Moresby, Knight, holds these now and pays for cornage for Askby 12s.

* In 1277 (Assize Roll 980) a claim before the Assize was defended by Margaret, widow of Henry de Askby, her son Robert being under age and in ward, The claim was for a widow's dowry in Great Askby. I do not remember any other document in which Askby and Winanderwaith are given as separate places. It is probably an error, as is also the 12s. for 19s.

Askby altera medietas*

Peter Cotford quondam tenuit alteram medietatem de Askby pro [ ] carucatis terre et reddidit per annum terminis predictis 4s 2d; et debuit wardum annuatim. De relevio et

Asby, the other moiety.

Peter Cotford once held the other moiety of Askby for [†] carucates. Cornage was 4s. 2d. John Catesford (lately) ? held it by the same services, and paid for cornage 4s. 2d.

maritagio ut supra. Et Johannes Catesforde nuper tenuit (?) eandem medietatem per omnia servicia predicta et ad coronagium red(it) ‡ per annum terminis predictis 4s 2d

* Askby Cotisford this is called in the 1397 Breve de Certiorari. Peter de Cottesford or Catesford was the owner of 1283. I find the name spelt in both these ways, sometimes with *o*, sometimes with *a*. also sometimes with one t, sometimes with two. † The number is not given. ‡ The word seems to be 'tenuit,' and this should imply 'reddidit,' but 'reddit' is given. I think it is the former which is wrong and that John Catesford was the existing feoffee.

Askby parva.

Robert Onglish * quondam tenuit Parvam Askby pro iij carucatis terre et ad coronagium reddidit per annum 2s 10d, terminis predictis; et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim £15. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Thomas Sandford tenet dictam villam per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 2s 10d

Little Asby.

Robert Onglish once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 2s. 10d. Wardship was worth £15. Thomas Sandford holds it now by the same services and pays for cornage 2s. 10d.

* Just as in the case of Ollerton given for Ellerton the compiler here mistook E for O. Robert le Engleys is the right name. In 1277 (Assize Roll 980) Robert le Engleys of Little Askby had a claim brought against him by Robert son of Henry who was most probably Henry de Suleby (Soulby) under whom Robert le Engleys at that time held.

Crosby Ravnsiwaith medietas.

Nicholaus Hastings * quondam libere tenuit medietatem de Crosby Ravniswaith pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 14s 7d; et Nateby pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 13s 7d. Et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac

Crosby Ravensworth.

Nichalas Hastings once held a moiety of Crosby Ravniswaith for 3 carucates. Cornage was 14s. 7d.: and Nateby for 3 carucates. Cornage was 13s. 7d. Wardship was worth £10 yearly. Now [Edward] † Hastings, Knt., holds them by the same services and pays for cornage 27s. 2d. And Lancelot Threkkeld holds

sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere &c £10 annuatim. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc [ ] Hastings miles tenet dictas Crosby et Nateby per eadem servicia et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 27s 2d (in) equis porcionibus. Et Lancelot Threkkeld tenet dictam Crosby et Thomas Wharton tenet dictam Nateby de eodem per omnia servicia predicta 27s [2d]

Crosby; and Thomas Wharton holds Nateby of him by the same services 27s. [2d].

* Nicholas de Hastings must have died before 1286, for there was a trial and a complaint against the King's Justices of which the final result is recorded in Assize Roll, 54 l.b. One of those attacks which were not unfrequent, as Assize Rolls show, had been made by a son of Richd. le Fraunceys, lord of Meaburne Mauld, and others, on the house of Thomas de Hastings in the manor of Crosby, and Nicholas his brother was killed in it. This must have been a son of the Nicholas of the text. A Nicholas, son presumably of Thomas was in possession in 1314. These attacks were usually made by men of position, and even women of position sometimes joined. † The Christian name of the Hastings of 1482 is not given, it was probably Edward, as I have given it in brackets. The 2d. (two pence) is omitted in the text but it belongs to the cornage.

Scapp Rosgill Bampton Patrik Gnyp Patrik.

Gilbertus filius Patrecii* quondam tenuit Help que nunc dictus Schapp, et Rosgill (5s 5d) pro j carucata terre et dimidia (et) reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 10s 10d. Idem Gilbertus quondam tenuit Bampton Patrik pro j carucata terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 13s 4d. Idem Gilbertus quondam tenuit Gnip patrik pro j carucata et dimidia terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 17d; et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum de Scapp et Bampton et

Shap, Rosgill, Bampton Patrick and Knipe Patrick.

Gilbert son of Patrack once held Help which is now called Schapp, and Rosgill (5s. 5d.) for 1 carucate and a half. Cornage was 10s. 10d. The same Gilbert also held Bampton Patrik for 1 carucate. Cornage was 13s. 4d. He also held Gnip Patrik for 1 carucate and a half. Cornage was 17d. Wardship from Scapp and Bampton and marriage from Bampton (Patrik) amounted to £42: and from Gnype to £10.

maritagium [de Bampton] Patrik valere per annum &c £42 et [de] Gnyppe £10. De relevio et maritagio ut prius. Et nunc Abbas de Scapp et Thomas Culwen miles tenent dictas Scapp et Rosgill per servicia predicta, et reddunt ad coronagium per annum terminis predictis 10s 10d. Et idem Thomas Culwen et Johannes Clibborne tenent dictam Bampton (13s 3d) et Gnyp (17d) per servicia predicta, et reddunt per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 15s 9d

Unde summa in toto 26s 7d

The Abbot of Scapp and Thomas Culwen Knt. now hold Scapp and Rosgill by the same services and pay for cornage 10s. 10. And the same Thomas Culwen and John Clibborne hold Bampton—13s. 3d.—and Gnyp—17d—by the same services. Cornage 15s. 9d.

Total 26s. 7d.

* The feudal lords of these are sometimes in the Rolls called de Wirkington, at others Colwen, at others Corwen(ne). The family of Rosgill held under them and were of standing to be knights as also the Curwens were. A relationship of the Rosgills to the Curwens seems very probable from such evidences as I have seen. The Cliburn ownership of part of the manor of Bampton Patrick has been as yet unexplained.

Bampton Cundall, Gnypp.

Radulphus Cundall * quondam tenuit Bampton Cundall et Gnypp pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 15s 3d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere &c annuatim 20 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc [ ] (tenet) dictam Helton per omnia servicia predicta et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 15s 3d

Bampton and Knipe Cundal.

Ralph Cundall once held Bampton Cundall and Gnypp for 3 carucates. Cornage was 15s. 3d. Wardship was worth 20 marks.—[ ] holds the said Helton by the same services and pays for cornage 15s. 3d.

* This was Ralf, son of William de Cundal, whose grandfather was also William and father Ralf (Lowther Muniments, Feet of Fines, 41 Henry III. and Assize Roll 980). Bampton Cundal came into possession of the Cliburn family through the marriage of Margaret, daughter of Roger, to Robert de Cliburne. Roger's deed of entail exists at Lowther. There is confusion at the end of this entry. The compiler mixed this and the next entry, and in such a way that it is not easy to realize what the error was.

Helton Flethan.

Robertus Morbill* quondam tenuit Helton Flethan pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 17d terminis predictis; et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere &c annuatim 20 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc [ ] tenet dictam Helton per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 15s 2d

Helton Flecket.

Robert Morbill once held Helton Flethan for 3 carucates. Cornage was 17d. Wardship was worth 20 marks yearly. Now [ ] holds the said Helton by the same services and pays for cornage 15s. 2d.

* Morbill is of course a mis-reading for Morvill. In 1277-8 (Assize Roll 980) a case brought against John de Morvyll about land was defended by Robert de Morvyll as his representative. Probably this is the Robert of the text. Robert's wife was named Alice. The confusion between the two entries continues. The cornage of Helton Flecket was not 15s. 2d., but 17d., as witness the tabulations.

Clifton.

Henricus Engrane* quondam tenuit Clifton pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 16s 4d et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere &c annuatim 40 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Thomas Whibargh tenet eandem villam per omnia servicia predicta et per alia servicia et redditus que nominantur intra 'Servicia Castri de Burgham' † et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 16s 4d

Clifton.

Henry Engrane once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 16s. 4d. Wardship was worth 40 marks yearly. Thomas Whibargh holds it now by the same services, and by other services and rents which are specified in the 'Servicia Castri de Burgham,' and pays for cornage 16s. 4d.

* Engrane is a mis-reading for Engayne. Clifton was a dreng holding. Gilbert Engayne, as stated in the Introduction was reported in 40 Henry III., 1255-6, for not taking up Knighthood. Henry is witness to Lowther charters of 1294 and 1296, and was followed by another Gilbert before 1314. † The services to the Castle of Brougham are not given.

Burgham. *

Cristiana Burgham Willelmus Crakanthorp et Henricus Riddings tenuerunt quondam Burgham et reddiderunt ad coronagium per annum terminis predictis 13s 6d; et debuerunt wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum per annum 5 merkes. De relevio et maritagio ut prius. Et nunc Johannes Burgham Johannes Crakanthorp de Newbiging et Johannes Bird tenent dictam villam per omnia servicia predicta et reddunt per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 13s 6d

Brougham.

Cristiana Burgham William Crakanthorp and Henry Riddings once held this. Cornage was 13s. 6d. Wardship was worth 5 marks yearly. Now John Burgham, John Crakanthorp of Newbiging and John Bird hold it by the same services, and pay for cornage 13s. 6d.

* Like Lowther and Cliburn Hervey this had become partitioned amongst heirs or heiresses. This entry looks as if Cristiana were one of 3 sisters; she, so far, unmarried, the others married. But it is quite possible that she was married after this to John Godebird, given in the Inq. of 1314.

Yontwith, Belton, Brampton, Dutton.

Willelmus * filius Thome quondam tenuit Yontwith pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 3s 6d. Et Brampton pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 8s 6d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et nunc Radulphus baro Grastoke tenet dictam villam et Duston per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 25s 6d. Et Lancelot Threlkeld tenet dictam Yontwith [Et] [†] Ratclyf tenet dictam Delton. Et Thomas Lancaster tenet Brampton de dicta baronia per servicia

Yanwith, Bolton, Brampton and Dufton.

William, son of Thomas once held Yontwith for 3 carucates. Cornage was 3s. 6d.; and Brampton for 3 carucates. Cornage was 8s. 6d. And now Ralph, baron of Grastoke holds this and Duston by the same services, and pays for cornage 25s. 6d. And Lancelot Threlkeld holds Yontwith. And [Thomas] Ratclyf holds Delton. And Thomas Lancaster holds Brampton of the barony by the same services, and Dufton is in the 'hands of the barony'

predicta, et Dufton est manu propria dicte baronie (?) &c ‡

* William de Greistok was holding this in 1255 (Assize Roll, 979). He is the William son of Thomas of the text. † The Christian name is not given, but it must be Thomas, see Mr. W. N. Thompson's paper in the *Transactions*, vol. iv., N.S. Thomas Lancaster as is already known, was one of the Sockbridge family. ‡ One would expect 'in the hands of the baron' but the text seems to be that which I give. Delton and Belton are errors for Bolton as Duston is for Dufton. Yontwith is a most curious error.

Crakanthorp.

Johannes Mauchill* quondam tenuit Crakanthorp pro [ ] carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 6^s 10^d et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum 20 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Johannes Mauchill tenet eandem villam per eadem servicia et reddit per annum ad coronagium 6^s 10^d

Crackenthorp.

John Mauchill once held this for [†] carucates. Cornage was 6s. 10d. Wardship was worth 20 marks. John Mauchill holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 6s. 10d.

* John Mauchill was son and successor of Alexander Mauchill, whose wife was Margaret. From this Alexander (Assize Roll 979) in 1255-6 Constance, widow of Nicholas de Crakanthorp, claimed wardship of her son and of his lands since they were held of Alexander in socage. † The number is not given.

Knok Salcok.

Robertus Bowell* quondam libere tenuit Knok Salcok pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 3^s 4^d et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat wardum valere per annum &c 20 merkes. De relevio et maritagio ut prius. Et nunc Johannes Lancaster, ut de jure uxoris sue filie et heredis Johannis Rukeby, tenet dictam Knok per omnia servicia predicta ac per sectam Comitatui et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 3^r 4^d

Knok.

Robert Bowell once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 3s. 4d. Wardship was worth 20 marks. It is now held by John Lancaster by right of his wife, daughter and heiress of John Rukeby. The same services. Cornage 3s. 4d.

* Under this mis-reading we have to recognize Boyville. Robert de Boyville is the person meant.

Clibborne Tailbois.

Ricardus* Tailboys quondam tenuit medietatem de Clibborne vocatam Clibborne Tailbois pro i carucata [et dimidia] de terra et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 12^{s} 4½^{d}, et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et wardum solebat valere annuatim &c 20 merkes. De relevio et maritagio ut supra. Et nunc Johannes Clibborne tenet dictam medietatem per eadem servicia et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 12^{s} 4½^{d}

Cliburn Tailbois.

Richard Tailboys once held the moiety of Clibborne called Clibborne Tailbois for 1 carucate and a half. Cornage was 12s. 4½d. Wardship was worth 20 marks yearly. John Clibborne now holds this by the same services, and pays for cornage 12s. 4½d.

* This is an error for Robert. I have not discovered a Richard. There were two Roberts, father and son. The elder, son of an Ivo Tailbois, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William son of William, and widow of William Bardolf. She married after Ivo's death Nicholas de Farendon, but was called Tailboys in her Inq. p. mortem. Her son Robert gave to Robert son of Hugh le Franceys lands in Bampton and Askham with his daughter Elizabeth in marriage; and Margery, widow of Robert Tailboys, claimed (Rotulus Curie Regis 162) in 1259 her dowry of ⅓rd of these and of lands in Cliburn from Robert le Fraunceys, but her son Robert found her a dowry in his other possessions. It was not till after 1422 that the Cliburn family became feoffees of this manor immediately under the Cliffords.

Clibborne Hervy.

Walter de Tilia Johannes de Stabill* et Hugo Sourby quondam tenuerunt aliam medietatem de Clibborne vocatam Clibborne Hervy pro j carucata terre et dimidia et reddiderunt per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 7^{s} 8½^{d}. Et debuerunt wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum &c annuatim 10 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et [†] tenent eandem medietatem per eadem servicia et

Cliburn Hervey.

Walter de Tilia, John de Stabill and Hugh de Sourby once held the other moiety of Clibborne called Clibborne Hervy for 1 carucate and a half. Cornage was 7s. 8½d. Wardship was 10 marks yearly. And now [ ] hold this moiety by the same services, and pay for cornage 15s. 8d.

reddunt ad coronagium per annum terminis predictis 15s 8d

* John de Stabill is an error for John de Staffol: this family and the de Sourby family must have merged into the Tilia (de Tayl, de Teyl) family, the last owners of Cliburn Hervey before it came into the hands of Robert de Clibburne in 1392. Thomas son of John de Warthecopp and Margaret could have left no child. The heritage was hers and descended to her heir. † The name of the missing feoffee here should be John Cliburn.

Kirkbright.

Predictus Ricardus* Tailbois quondam tenuit Kirkbright in Appulby et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 2s. Et de(buit) wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum &c annuatim 50s. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Ricardus Kistwald tenet dictam Kirkbryght per servicia predicta et reddit per annum terminis predictis ad coronagium 2s

* Robert, not Richard, as shown above.

Kirkbright.

The aforesaid Richard Tailbois once held this cornage was 2s. Wardship was 50s. yearly. Richard Ristwald holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 2s.

Colby.

Hugo de Bello Campo quondam tenuit Colby et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 6s 10d, et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim &c [ ]. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Thomas Warcop* de Colby, filius Thome Warcop Vicarii de Kirkby Stephan tenet eandem villam per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per a num ad coronagium terminis predictis 6s 10d

Colby.

Hugh de Beauchamp once held this. Cornage was 6s. 10d. Wardship was worth [†] yearly. It is now held by Thomas Warcop of Colby, son of Thomas Warcop, Vicar of Kirkby Stephan, by the same services. He pays for cornage 6s. 10d.

* This Thomas Warthecopp, Vicar of Kirkby Stephan, occurs also under the entry of Sandford. † The amount is not given.

Hoffe, Dribek.

Thomas de Multon quondam tenuit Hoffe et Dribek pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit ad coronagium annuatim 9^{s} 2^{d}. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui &c. Et nunc Humfridus dominus de Dacre tenet dictas Hoffe et Dribek per omnia servicia predicta et reddit ad coronagium per annum terminis predictis 9^{s} 2^{d}

Hoff and Drybeck.

Thomas de Multon once held these for 3 carucates. Cornage was 9s. 2d. Humphrey lord Dacre holds them now by the same services, and pays for cornage 9s. 2d.

Ormeshed.

Johannes Wasti* quondam tenuit Ormeshed Vasti pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit annuatim ad coronagium 13^{s} 6^{d} et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui necnon tenebat stirop domini. Et nunc Thomas Ratclif tenebat (? tenet) medietatem 'dicte ville' per omnia servicia predicta et reddidit (? reddit) annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis [ ]. Et Johannes Barton tenet dictam Ormeshed de dicto Thoma per servicia predicta 13^{s} 6^{d}

Ormside.

John Wasti once held this for 3 carucates. Cornage was 13s. 6d. He used to hold the lord's stirrup. And now Thomas Ratclif holds a moiety of the said vill by all the aforesaid services, and pays for cornage [†]. And John Barton holds Ormeshed of the said Thomas by the aforesaid services 13s. 6d.

* This must be an error for Vesci, as the confusion between W and V may hint; there is often difficulty in deciding between c and t in mediæval documents and it seems there was the same difficulty in 1482. Hodgson says that the family of Vesci held Ormside in the time of Edward I., but if this feodary is right they began to be in possession earlier. † The amount is not given.

Newbigyng.

Robertus Newbyging quondam tenuit Newbyging et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 20^{d} et debuit wardum maritagium et rele-

Newbiggin.

Robert Newbyging once held this. Cornage was 20d. Wardship was worth 100s. yearly. John Crakanthorp of Newbiging holds it now by the same ser-

vium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere annuatim &c 100ˢ. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Johannes Crakanthorp de Newbiging tenet eandem villam per servicia predicta et reddit annuatim ad coronagium terminis predictis 20ᵈ

vices, and pays for cornage 20d.

Milneburne.

Thomas* Patric' quondam tenuit Milneburne pro j carucata terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 21ˢ 8ᵈ. Et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim 20 merkes. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Johannes Crakanthorp de Holgill tenet dictam Milneburne per omnia servicia predicta ac per redd(itum) 6 merkes de Alba firma ejusdem ville. Inde domino debet hic in forisfactura [ut] intra 'Albam firmam Westmerlande' nominatur; et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 21ˢ 8ᵈ

Milburn.

Thomas Patric' once held this for 1 carcucate. Cornage was 21s. 8d. Wardship was worth 20 marks yearly. John Crakanthorp of Holgill holds it now by the same services, and by the rent of 6 marks from the fee farm (alba firma). From this he owes the lord in forfeit what is set down under the 'fee farm.' He pays for cornage 21s. 8d.

* This is an error for Comes Patricius (Earl Patrick)—the Earl of Dunbar—who appears as paying Isabel de Clifford's half of the dues in 1314.

Kirkby thorp.*

Gilbertus de Kirkbythorpe quondam tenuit tres partes de Kirkbythorp pro iij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 19ˢ 10ᵈ. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat valere wardum &c annuatim [ ]. De maritagio

Kirkbythore.

Gilbert de Kirkbythorpe once held 3 parts of Kirkbythorp for 3 carucates. Cornage was 19s. 10d. Wardship was worth [†] yearly. John Kirkby holds these three parts now by the same services, and pays an agreed sum for not attending the county court in spite of the fact that a

et relevio ut prius. Et nuuc Johannes Kirkby tenet easdem tres partes per omnia servicia predicta et facit finem pro secta Comitatui eo non obstante quod quidam dominus Westmerlande relaxavit cuidam antecessori suo hujusmodi sectam &c. Et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis prediotis 19s 10d

certain lord of Westmorland released a certain ancestor of his from the obligation. He pays for cornage 19s. 10d.

Robertus Berforday quondam tenuit immediate quartam partam ejusdem ville de Kirkbythorp et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 12s 8d et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim &c [ ]. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc [ ] Pudsey miles dominus de Berford super Teyes tenet immediate eandem quartam partem per servicia supradicta et reddit ad coronagium annuatim [ ]. Et Johannes Wherton tenet dictam partem de dicto domino per omnia et eadem servicia supradicta 12s 8d

Robert Berforday once held directly under the lord the fourth part of Kirkbythorp. Cornage was 12s. 8d. Wardship was worth yearly [ ]. [Ralph ‡] Pudsey, Knt., lord of Berford on Tees holds this now directly under the lord, and pays for cornage [§]. And John Wherton holds the said part of the said lord. The same services 12s. 8d.

* This is an error. Kirkby thore must be Thore's Kirkby. It is not easy to understand why there is such insistance on 'immediate' in the second part of the entry. Possibly there was a sort of claim made by the owners of the 3 parts to be lords over the owners of the 4th. The name Berforday must be an error for Berford. † The amount is not given. ‡ The Christian name, not given, I supply from Hodgson's Description, published about 1813. § The amount is not given.

Appulby.

Eudo de Ribbys* quondam tenuit 1 carucatam terre in Appulby vocatam Ribbesland et reddidit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 2s. Et debuit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui.

Appleby.

Eudo de Ribbys once held 1 carucate in Appulby called Ribbesland. Cornage was 2s. Wardship was worth 20s. yearly. Richard Ristwald holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage [‡]

Et solebat valere wardum annuatim &c 20s. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Ricardus Ristwald tenet dictam carucatum terre per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis [ ]

Heredes Walteri Spencer† quondam tenuerunt viij acras terre in Appulby et reddiderunt per annum ad coronagium [ ]; et debuerunt wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat valere wardum annuatim &c 5s. Et nunc ut supra, dicte viij acre sunt in manu domini per antiquam adquisitionem inde factam per [ ] antecessorum suorum quare nunc nichill reddunt ad coronagium &c 2s

The heirs of Walter Spencer once held 8 acres in Appulby and paid for cornage [‡]. Wardship was worth 5s. yearly. These 8 acres are now, like other lands above, in the lord's hands by an old resumption, and they therefore pay no cornage 2s.

* In 7-8 Edward II.. 1314, the Assize had to settle whether Johanna, daughter of Eudo Rybbes, had been disseised of her free tenement in Appleby, one messuage and 10 acres of land and 2 meadows; and it was shown that Elena, wife of Eudo, had put tne defendants into possession. Robert de Bradewood was the chief of these defendants, and his name appears in the Inquisition of 1314 as in possession. † We find a John Spencer holding 2 bovates in Nether Burgh in 1392. See the tabulations. ‡ The amount is not given.

Rukby.

Thomas Musgrave quondam tenuit medietatem de Rukby pro [ ] carucat( ) terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 2s 7d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat valere wardum &c annuatim 40s. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Thomas Scays* tenet dictam medietatem per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 2s 7d

Rookby.

Thomas Musgrave once held a moiety for [†] carucate(s).? Cornage was 2s. 7d. Wardship was worth 40s. yearly. Thomas Scays holds this now by the same services, and pays for cornage 2s. 7d.

De 6d de alba firma alterius medietatis ejusdem ville debitis per eundem Thomam Scayse nihil hic extenditur quia postea &c

About 6d. from the fee farm of the other moiety of this vill owed by the same Tho. Scays nothing is set down here. It is given below in 'fee farm.'

* The name Scays is an error. Scayfe or Scayffe occurs in the Inquisitions. † There is nothing to show whether this is one carucate or more.

Louthre Willius.
Louthre John.*

Johannes Coupland, Adam Everington,† Simon Bowney et Prior de Watton quondam tenuerunt Louthre Willelmus et Louthre Johannes pro [ ] carucatis terre et reddiderunt per annum ad coronagium 20s 4d. Et debuerunt wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui ad predictos terminos priores. Et solebat wardum valere annuatim &c cujuslibet 40s. De relevio et maritagio ut prius. Et nunc tenentur dicte Louthres per servicia predicta et reddunt per annum ad coronagium [ ]. Et Hugo Louthre tenet dictas Louthres de [ ] 20s 4d

Lowther William and Lowther John.

John Coupland, Adam Everington, Simon Bowney and the Prior of Watton once held Louthre William and Louthre John for [‡] carucates. Cornage was 20s. 4d. Wardship from each was worth 40s. yearly. These 'Louthres' are now held by the same services, and pay for cornage [‡] yearly; and Hugh Louthre holds them of [§] 20s. 4d.

* These two portions are given in the Inq p. m. of Isabel de Clifford, 1292, as Louthre Wyllame and Louthre Jon, † Everington is an error for Haverington (Harrington of later days), Bowney is a misreading for Dawney. Simon de Alne is the name given in Aug. 1314, and the name passes in documents through de Alneto to Dawney. Alne is in Yorkshire. All these owners seem to have held land in both Lowthers, for there is no separation. The complication in the history, and the regaining of possession by a Lowther as one of the original family is interesting enough but too long for a note. ‡ The number and amount are not given. § The name is not given.

Meuburne Mald. Whale.

Ricardus leigh Fraunceys* quondam tenuit in capite Meuburn Mald et Whale pro [ ] carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 33s. Et de-

Meaburne Mauld and Whale.

Richard le(igh) Fraunceys once held Meuburn Mald and Whale in chief for [†] carucates. Cornage was 33s. Wardship was worth £40 yearly.

buit wardum maritagium relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere annuatim &c £40. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Henricus Vernon tenet in capite dictas Meuburn Mald et Whale per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum ad coronagium terminis predictis 33s

Henry Vernon now holds these in chief by the same services, and pays for cornage 33s.

* Richard le Fraunceys, son of Gilbert, He owned also amongst other manors one of the Haddon manors in Derbyshire. His great grand-daughter Isabel was married to Richard (?) Vernon owner of the other Haddon. Her son was William ancestor of the Lords Vernon. † The number is not given.

Smerdale.

Ricardus de Sandford et Thecwald * de Wateby quondam tenuerunt in capite Smerdale pro iij carucatis terre et reddiderunt per annum ad coronagium 13s 8d. Et debuerunt wardum maritagium et relevium. Et solebat wardum valere &c annuatim £10. De maritagio et relevio ut prius. Et nunc Reginaldus Warcop tenet dictam Smardale per omnia servicia predicta et reddit per annum &c 13s 8d

Smardale.

Richard de Sandford and Thecwald de Wateby once held Smerdale in capite for 3 carucates. Cornage was 13s. 8d. Wardship was worth £10. Reginald Warcop now holds this by the same services, and pays for cornage 13s. 8d.

* Thecwald here must be an error for Theobald. At least I have found no Thecwald, but a Theobald de Wateby who held land under the mesne lord of Waitby in 1277 (Assize Roll 980). Theobald had as feoffee under him John de Cabergh, with whom arose a dispute about lands. John produced before the Assize a charter given by William son of Geoffrey, father of Theobald, to his grandfather Thomas de Cabergh, which settled the dispute.

Morton.

| *] quondam tenuit Morton pro [ ] carucatis terre et reddidit per annum ad coronagium 13s 8d. Et debuit wardum maritagium et relevium ac sectam Comitatui. Et solebat wardum valere

Marton (Long).

[ ] once held Morton for [‡] carucates Cornage was 13s. 8d. Wardship was worth [‡] yearly. Thomas Salingr. Knt., holds it now by the same services, and pays for cornage 13s. 8d.

&c (annuatim) [ ]. De maritagio et relevio ut supra. Et nunc Thomas Salingr † miles tenet villam predictam per eadem servicia et reddit per annum ad coronagium predictum 13s 8d

* The name is not given. † This must be Sir Tho. St. Leger, of a family also called Sellenger. Sir Thomas married Anne, sister of Edward IV. ‡ The number and amount are not given.

Tenentes domini ad voluntatem et alii liberi tenentes ibidem reddunt annuatim domino ad coronagium cum 12d percipiendis in Warcop terminis predictis 10s.

The lord's tenants-at-will and other freeholders pay him yearly for cornage including 12d. paid in Warcop, 10s. in cornage.

Burgh.

Et predicti tenentes debent wardum maritagium et relevium quia tenent per servicium militare &c

Burgh.

And the aforesaid tenants owe wardship because they hold by military service

Winton.

Tenentes bovatarum dicti domini in Winton ac alii liberi tenentes ibidem reddunt domino annuatim ad coronagium dictis terminis Pasche et Michaelmas &c 20s 9d

Winton.

The tenants of the bovates of the lord in Winton, and other freeholders there pay him yearly for cornage 20s. 9d.

Summa totalis [ ]

Wanting

Two blank pages follow; then we find:—

Feodi firma sive alba firma libreorum tenentium qui tenent libere de domino Thoma domino (de) `Clifford et de Westmerlanda in socagio, renovatum secundum tenorem antiquorum

Fee farm or 'White farm' of free tenants who have freehold in socage under the lord Thomas lord of Clifford and Westmorland; renewed according to the tenor of ancient feodaries and

feodariorum et rentalium Antecessorum domini ibidem, ut pro uno anno finietur in crastino S. Michaelis Archangeli anno regnorum Henrici sexti 31°, ac Edwardi quarti 22°

rent-rolls of ancestors of the same lord, as for one year completed in the morrow of St. Michael the Archangel in the year of the reign of Henry VI., the 31st; and in the 22nd year of Edward IV.

Grangia Askby.

Abbas de Bella Landa quondam tenuit grangiam de Askby et reddidit per annum ad festa Pasche et Sti Michaelis pro omnibus sectis et serviciis 26s 8d. Et adhuc Abbas ibidem &c tenet dictam Grangiam in eadem forma et reddit per annum pro omnibus (serviciis), terminis predictis 26s 8d

Asby Grange.

The Abbot of Byland once held the grange of Askby, and paid yearly at Easter and Michaelmas in quittance of all suits and services 26s. 8d. The The Abbot still holds it under the same terms, and pays 26s. 8d.

Brotherdall.

Idem Abbas quondam tenuit et adhuc tenet quandam pasturam vocatam Brotherdalle et adhuc reddit per annum ad dicta festa pro omnibus &c 5s

Bretherdale.

The same Abbot once held a pasture called Brotherdalle, and paid at Easter and Michaelmas in the same way 5s.

Melkenthorp.

Margareta de Roos* quondam tenuit Melkenthorp et reddidit per annum termino Sti Martini tantum, pro omnibus, unum espervarium mutatum vel 5s argenti. Et nunc Ricardus Musgrave et Thomas Lancaster tenent dictam Melkenthorp et reddunt per annum pro omnibus termino S. Martini tantum 5s

Melkinthorpe.

Margaret de Roos once held Melkenthorp, and gave in quittance of all services yearly at the feast of St. Martin only one mewed sparrow hawk, or else 5s. in silver. And now Richard Musgrave and Thomas Lancaster hold it, and pay yearly at the feast of St. Martin 5s. for all services

* Margaret de Brus, wife of Robert de Ros, lady of the part of the barony of Kendal, afterwards called the marquis fee.

Warcop.

Willelmus Warcop* quondam tenuit 2 carucatas terre in Warcop [et reddidit] per annum terminis predictis proxime 12d pro omnibus serviciis; et nunc Robertus Warcop tenet easdem 2 carucatas terre et reddit per annum pro omnibus 12d

Willelmus Morell† quondam tenuit 6 bovatas terre in Warcop et reddidit per annum termino Sti Laurentii tantum 1d pro omnibus serviciis. Et nunc predictus Robertus Warcop tenet easdem bovatas &c 1d

Warcop.

William Warcop once held 2 carucates of land in Warcop, and paid yearly at the terms just mentioned (Easter and Michaelmas) 12d. for all services. Robert Warcop holds them now and pays 12d.

William Morell once held 6 bovates of land in Warcop and paid, at the feast of St. Laurence only, 1d. for all services. The aforesaid Robert Warcop holds them now and pays 1d.

* William, son of Alan de Wardecopp, was before the Assize, 1255-6 (40 Henry iij), to answer to a claim of a debt for 2s. made by Beatrix, widow of Robert de Travers. As he called Robert, son of Robert de Travers, to vouch, it looks as if the claim was not valid, but also as if he had held his land (or had it transferred to him by them) of the family of de Travers. † This name should be Morville. The heir of William de Morville held in 1292.

Souleby. Warcop.

Thomas Bowet* quondam tenuit 4 bovatas terre in Souleby et 16 acras terre in Warcop et reddidit per annum termino Michaelis tantum pro omnibus 6d. Et nunc Hugo Louthre tenet dictas bovatas et acras terre et reddit pro omnibus dicto termino Michaelis 6d

Soulby and Warcop.

Thomas Bowet once held 4 bovates of land in Souleby and 16 acres of land in Warcop, and paid yearly at Michaelmas only, for all services 6d. Hugh Louthre holds these now and pays at Michaelmas in the same way 6d.

* The name Bowet occurs later amongst the freeholders in Nether Burgh. See the tabulation.

Milneburn.

Bertumus* de Johneby et Robertus de Waile quondam tenuerunt 2 terras et tenementa in Winborrow Mylneburne et reddidit per annum termino Pasche et Michaelis £4 pro omnibus serviciis; et nunc

Milburn.

'Bertum' de Johneby and Robert de Waile once held two lands and tenements in Winborrow Mylneburne, and paid at Easter and Michaelmas in quittance of all services £4. John Crakanthorp of Helgill holds

Johannes Crakanthorp de Helgill tenet dicta terras et tenementa et reddit per annum terminis predictis, ultra 21s 8d de cornagio ejusdem ville per annum (ut patet) antea intra 'Coronagium Westmerlande' &c £4

these now and pays in the same way £4, besides 21s. 8d. for cornage from the same vill as appears above in the 'Cornagium Westmerlande'

* One would expect Bertram, but I cannot get this out of the manuscript. Bertram de Jeneneby occurs in Assize Roll 980, 1277-8. Possibly Robert de Waile is Robert de Whale. These must have really been sub-feofees. Patrick, son of Earl Patrick, held this in 1292 (see tabulation). Helgill is an error for Holglil.

Rukby.

Robertus * filius Henrici de Askby quondam tenuit medietatem de Rukby et reddidit per annum termino Michaelis tantum pro omnibus serviciis 6d. Et nunc Thomas Scase † tenet eandem medietatem et reddit per annum eadem termino tantum pro omnibus, ultra 2s 7d de cornagio alterius medietatis ejusdem ville antea intra 'Cornagium &c' 6d

Rookby.

Robert, son of Henry de Askby once held a moiety of Rukby, and paid at Michaelmas only, for all services 6d. Thomas Scase holds this now and pays in the same way 6d; besides 2s. 7d. for cornage from the other moiety, as appears above under 'Cornagium Westmerlande'

* This Robert, son of Henry de Askby, is the Robert of the entry concerning Askby Winderwath. † Scase is an error as before explained for Scayf.

Wharton.

Thomas Wharton tenet manerium de Wharton et reddit per annum pro omnibus serviciis termino Assumptionis Beate Marie tantum 6d

Wharton.

Thomas Wharton holds the manor of Wharton and pays, in quittance of all services, at the feast of the Assumption only 6d.

Tibbey.

Thomas * Hastings quondam tenuit immediate Tibbey pro ij carucatis terre et reddidit per annum pro omnibus 5s

Tebay.

Thomas Hastings once held Tibbey directly, for 2 (?) carucates of land, and paid yearly in quittance of all services 5s.

Et nunc | †] Hastings miles tenet dictam Tibbey et reddit pro omnibus, terminis Pasche et Michaelis [ ]. Et Thomas Wharton et Ricardus Ristwald tenent dictam Tibbey &c. [de eo] 5s

[Edward] Hastings, Knt., holds it now and pays in the same way, at Easter and Michaelmas [‡]. And Thomas Wharton and Richard Ristwald hold it under Hastings 5s.

* This must have been Thomas, son of Nicholas, who afterwards succeeded to Crosby Ravensworth. † The omitted surname must as before be Edward. ‡ The amount is not given.

Clibburn.

Galfrius filius Herby* reddidit pro terra Herby in Clybburn nunc vocata Judland per annum terminis Pasche et Michaelis pro omnibus 1d

Et nunc [ ] tenet eandem terram et reddit per annum dictis terminis pro omnibus 1d

Cliburn.

Geoffrey son of 'Herby' paid for 'Herby's' land in Clybburn now called Judland, at Easter and Michaelmas, in quittance of all services 1d.

[ ] holds this now and pays in the same way 1d.

* Herby is a mistake for Hervey. As Thomas, son of John de Warthecopp, is stated distinctly in the Inquisition of 1383 to be holding the land of Hervey in Clibburne paying 1d., at the same time that William Jud is stated to be holding land in Clibburne of the same value 1d., I think there was a confusion between the two in later days, and that the identification of Hervey's land and Jud land is a mistake.

Summa [ ]

Wanting

[Servicia Castri de Burgham]

[Services connected with the Castle of Brougham]

This though implied is missing.

Overleaf is :—

Patens domini Regis.*

Letter patent to the lord the King.

Ricardus Dei gratia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernię omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenient salutem. Sciatis quod cum Johannes quondam

Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and lord of Ireland to all to whom these presents shall come wishes health. We do you to

Rex Anglie, unus progenitorum nostrorum per literas suas patentes olim concessisset Roberto de Veteri Ponte Appleby et Burgh cum omnibus appendiciis et cum balliva et redditu Comitatus Westmerlande, *et* cum serviciis omnium hominum qui inde de eo tenuerunt, nisi illorum qui de dicto progenitore nostro tenuerunt per servicium militare, habenda et tenenda prefato Roberto et heredibus suis; Salva dicto progenitori nostro et heredibus suis omnimodorum regali dignitate; Virtute cujus concessionis dictus Robertus et heredes sui officium Vice-Comitis Comitatus predicti hucusque occupaverunt, ac eciam servicia omnium *liberorum tenentium* ejusdem Comitatus, qui de dicto progenitore tenuerunt per homagium et fidelitatem, et quendam certum redditum vocatum coronagium quod quidem coronagium dat custodiam maritagium et relevium et a toto tempore dedit, et quod est in effectu servicium militare; ac insuper occupaverunt wayfs strays blodwits et assisam panis et cerevisie, *que quidem officia, servicia, wayfs, strays, et blodwytes et assisam panis et cerevisie* dictus Robertus et heredes sui injuste et contra formam concessionis dicti progenitoris nostri occupaverunt, ut informamur: Nos de gratia nostra speciali concessimus dilecto et fideli nostro Radulpho de Nevill Comiti Westmerlande, in incremento

wit that since John once King of England one of our progenitors by his letters patent did grant to Robert de Veteripont Appleby and Burgh with all belongings and with the bailliwick and its rents of the county of Westmorland, and with the services of all who held land there of him of our said progenitor, except those who held of him by knights' service (per servicium militare): for the aforesaid Robert and his heirs to have and to hold; saving to our said progenitor and his heirs the regal rights of whatsover kind; by virtue of which grant the said Robert and his heirs have hitherto held the office of Sheriff of the aforesaid County, and have held also the services of all freeholders of the same county who held of our progenitor by homage and fealty and a certain payment called cornage, which cornage carries with it (to the lord) the right of "wardship," "marriage," and "relief," and always did, and which is in actuality military service (servicium militare) ;and besides this (they) have held in possession (the right to) wayfs strays blodwits and the assise of bread and beer, which said duties services wayfs strays and bloodwytes and assise of bread and beer the said Robert and his heirs held in possession in unjust fashion and contrary to the terms of the grant of our said progenitor, as we are informed;

status sui comitis, quicquid ad nos pertinet de officiis et serviciis et franchesiis supradictis, Habendum eidem Radulpho ad terminum vite sue. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste (meipso) [*R*] (*per breve de privato sigillo.*)

Apud villam nostram Salop, quinto die Februarii anno regni nostri 21

We by our special grace have granted to our beloved and faithful Ralph de Nevill Earl of Westmorland, in augmentation of his estate of Earl, so far as they pertained to us, the offices and services and franchises aforesaid, for the same Ralph to hold for the term of his life. In witness of which we have issued these letters patents, (by brief under our private seal.)

At our town of Salop, Feby. 5th, in the 21st year of our reign.

* This is enrolled (Patent Roll, 21 Richard II., part 3, membrane 1). The parts underlined are omitted in the M.S. but are given from the Patent Roll.

Endorsement on next leaf upside down in different and later hand.

'for my lords case and Mertindale herres.'

This endorsement looks like the writing of late Tudor times.

III.—Introduction to the Tabulation.

The tabulation is compiled to illustrate the feodary, as well as to give the successive lists of the feoffees. It shows very fairly the descent of the manors held by those feoffees who held immediately or directly (in capite) under the Cliffords. It is arranged with the places in the order in which the feodary gives them, but with usual modern spelling. In the various inquisitions the order differs, though one can trace a general routine. The first list of feoffees is that given in the feodary, but with the spelling somewhat rectified; and this is followed by the lists given in the returns as the results of the several inquisitions post mortem which I have examined. It is perhaps as well to say that these were enquiries made by the king's command into the values of the estates of those

who held in chief (immediately, "in capite") under the Crown, for the purpose of what we should now call a succession duty. The King claimed this duty, his "relief," before he would allow the heir to take possession of his estates. The inquisitions given begin with that of Isabel de Clifford, daughter of the last Robert de Veteripont, who was co-heiress with her sister Idonea. It gives, of course, only her half; and in this it is interesting to notice that the partition must have been chiefly carried out by assigning one whole fief to one and another to the other of the sisters, though in a few instances, as in the case of Milnburne, the fief was divided between the two. I have not yet found Idonea's inquisition, which would be much later (1333), and after the two very full inquisitions of Robert de Clifford (1314). As these contain the full list possibly we should learn little from Idonea's. Isabel de Clifford's inquisition gives a great proportion of the fee farm list, valuable for comparison with that of the feodary and those of the later lists. These socage tenancies, as will be seen from the tabulations, instead of following the general order of things and absorbing the other tenancies, actually decreased in number in the interval 1282-1485, many of the smallest being absorbed into the tenancies by cornage (military service).* This gives a hint at the unsettled state of the borders. Why there were two inquisitions after the death of Robert de Clifford—one held on the Monday after St. Bartholomew, the other on the Sunday after St. Luke, both in 1314—it is not easy to say. I have given both. There are some interesting differences, and they illustrate one another—so far as each can be deciphered, but the August one is in great part so stained with oxgall as to be the colour of old oak, and this together with faded writing makes any deciphering a matter of considerable difficulty; and, in

* This seems to account for the increase of cornage dues in one or two instances—*e.g.*, Cliburn Hervey.

truth, without the light I had gained from other documents, it would have been absolutely an impossibility. One of these inquisitions gives the total amount of the cornage dues (as does that of Isabel de Clifford of 1292); the other also shews the total value of the "wards." The August inquisition gives also, as does Isabel de Clifford's, the totals of the items given with the fee farm.

These summations were so valuable in helping to settle uncertain and faded numbers all through the lists that I have spent much time in making sure of them. It was no easy task, but I have satisfied myself that with the exception of very few I have got them right. Crosby and the earlier Musgrave fiefs were much trouble, and I have had to leave some difficulties not solved. These two inquisitions of 1314 give also the last lists of drengs. Six they were, and of five names I am fairly certain, of four I feel sure; there is one, the sixth, which is hopelessly gone—the other uncertain one is either Walter or Geoffrey, son of Hervey. On looking at the names in the columns (p. 266) we recognise these drengs as among those who paid cornage—*i.e.*, who held by military service. The grandfather, it must have been, of one (Gilbert Engayne) had, as already stated, been reported for being of standing to take up knighthood and not taking it. We can trace nothing in 1314 to separate these drengs from the other cornage or socage feoffees; there is no difference made in the dues, and no further services are mentioned. Dreng had evidently become a mere name, and that of a shadow. The October inquisition gives no separate list in the decipherable part, that I could find, of the socage tenancies, but some of these are entered with the others —those holding by cornage.

The next inquisition, of the Monday before St. Laurence (1362), is concerning the dowry of Isabel de Clifford, who died July 25th that year. She was widow of Robert (who had died in 1343) and mother of Roger, who had succeeded already to all the estate after his brother Robert's

death, except the fiefs enumerated in this inquisition as in his mother's dowry. In this we have a fresh valuation given, no longer that of the "wards." It gives the cornage dues and the statement that the fief extends to the value of so much yearly. This does not explain itself, but it is continued in the next inquisition also—that of Roger de Clifford (Monday after St. Peter ad vincula, 1388), which is a full inquisition, containing, as his mother's did not, all the fiefs. It is continued also in that of Thomas de Clifford, who died October 4th, 1391, held on the Monday after Epiphany, 1392, in which are given not only the fiefs of which he had possession, but those of which he had the reversion, that were held as dowry by his mother Matilda, whose inquisition does not come till the Thursday before Ascension Day, 1403. But the matter is explained by the list given in the Partitio feodorum Thome de Clifford (1392), which comes in between. This had been supposed to relate to the estates of the later Thomas Lord Clifford, killed at St. Albans in 1454, but I was able to point out that it was the Thomas who died in 1291 whose fiefs were thus partitioned; (the document is Miscellaneous Rolls, Chancery Bundle 9, No. 37.) Why the partition was made I have not a clear notion, but it excepts, of course, those fiefs which were then being held by Matilda, as will easily be noticed on comparing the two lists. The partition was in three, and I give only the Westmorland portion. It reveals the meaning of the "extension" to yearly value of the preceding inquisitions; this yearly value it gives and no cornage. The figures given are stated to show the yearly value of the services of the feoffees; this then was the amount paid out to the feudal lord, while the "wards" assessment was probably the estimate of the annual value to the feoffee. These yearly "extension" valuations are continued in some of the following inquisitions.

The list of 1397-8 is taken from the volume of printed Indexes to Inquisitiones post mortem issued by the Record

Commissioners. The document which it transcribes is now not to be found. It was a Breve de Certiorari, a king's letter requiring information about lands from which he supposed he was not receiving his dues—concealed lands. The names and not only those of the persons, but of some of the places seem in this index list to have been playing that part of the game of post which is called general post. I have given most of them as they are, misreadings included. It is possible to surmise what most of them were in the document itself. But the general impression that we get, apart from this, is an interesting impression that the exactions of Richard II. had caused, not so much the concealment of lands as the placing of them for the purposes of causing difficulty in carrying out exactions, in the hands of what perhaps I may be allowed to call interim feoffees—we should term them now trustees—a method of ensuring evasion which the Act of 27 Henry VIII. was intended to destroy, but failed to do so. "Interim" feoffees held for the use of the heir or ultimate feoffee, or in order that estates might be placed under some special entail, or in order to bar claims. They were, as I have not seldom found, clerics; and possibly many of those in the list of 1397-8 were such. This letter of enquiry gives, of course, no valuations.

The next inquisition (1403) I have already mentioned, Matilda's. There are two copies, but each in such a faded condition in parts that I found I could not make the list complete even by comparison of each with the other. Then follows the inquisition of John de Clifford, who was killed at the siege of Meaux. This was held on Monday before St. John the Baptist (1422), and contains a full list, including the valuations of those fiefs held in dowry by his mother, Elizabeth, whose inquisition follows (September 6, 1424), and by his grandmother—also Elizabeth—whose inquisition is the last (November 9th, 1435). This last had married after John de Clifford's death Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, grandson of the Ralph to

whom Richard II. had made the grant for life of the revenues of the county. A puzzle is left unexplained by the inquisition of 1422, which takes no notice of the grant to Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, but gives the particulars as if all were in Clifford hands. In fact, the only traces we have of the Nevills beyond Elizabeth's dowry (1435) are the tenure of the manor of Warcop in cornage by Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, in 1422, and afterwards by Lord Latimer, and the tenancy of two carucates of land in socage in Warcop also by Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, in 1424.

Some of the fiefs have an especially interesting history, as will be judged; and those particularly which were divided before the times of our feodary and within the period were again united, or which had several tenancies held under different tenures. For instance, Lowther we find already parted into two, the portions probably of descendants of co-heirs, but then already further parted between three, exclusive of the church lands, and later on all re-united by the family which took its name therefrom. Brougham has a history which wants still more unravelling. Warcop we find split up, yet over and over again yielding some scion of its owners who was able to find an heiress to marry and to hold her lands. Cliburn, like Lowther, begins as two; has two families at first not related who assumed the name of Cliburn, one of which died out leaving its heiress to be married to the other family, which persistently after it had started, and not intermittently like the other, called itself de Cliburne, and gradually brought all its small socage tenures, with one apparent and not real exception, into one. Bampton in its portions, and Rosgill and Soulby also have their own interesting histories. But I might enumerate all.

I had thought to give something of all this in notes upon the tabulations from particulars gathered from Curia Regis Rolls, de Banco Rolls, Assize Rolls, and other records in the Record Office completed by those afforded

by muniments; but I find practically that notes would be an unsatisfactory plan; and part of the most interesting matter could not serve as merely illustrating the tabulations or the feodary, though these make a very good basis for the rest. For the feodary and the inquisitions only tell, except very rarely, the feoffees who held immediately (in capite) or directly under the Cliffords, whereas there were feoffees of these feoffees who rose to be themselves feoffees in capite either in some other way or by marriage, and adopted the shields of the family into which they married. And there seem to have been tenants in capite who married the heiresses of the feoffees that held under them, and thus came into possession of the revenues as well as of the royalties, so to speak, of the demesnes, and quartered their shields.* I am therefore looking forward to following up the laying of this foundation by giving in future years and in a form more easily shaped out for following, the information I have gathered, and still hope to gather.

I have now only to record my thanks to my friends Mr. E. Salisbury of the Record Office and Mr. W. Boyd for help given in deciphering some of the worst portions of the public records examined, and to Prof. Collingwood for his kind management and arrangement in editing.

* The changes in the bearings of shields adopted in Elizabethan times and since perpetuated, in some instances certainly, though perhaps few, mislead as to the origin of the bearings, and obscure the far more interesting older forms.

CORNAGE. Tabulation I.	Carucates.	Feodary c. 1283.	Cornage.	Ward.	Isabel de Clifford June 1292.	Cornage.
Hilbeck	3	Tho. de Hellebek	6s	20m	....	..
Askham	3	Tho. de Hellebek	50/9	£20	....	..
Cabergh (Kaber) ..	3	Alan de Cabergh ..	17/8	£20	Alan de Caberg ..	17/8
Hartley	6	Michl de Harcla	7/4	£40	Michl de Hartecla ..	12/4
Langton ..	..	,, ,,	[5/-]		....	..
Great Musgrave ..	3	Tho. de Musgrave	4/2		....	..
Murton	3	,, ,,	6/-		....	..
Soulby	3	,, ,,	13/8	£30	....	..
		Tho. Benet Ric. de Sandford				
Warcop	3	Ric. de Warthecopp	17/8	£30	....	..
Waitby Agnes moiety	..	,, ,,			....	..
Orton moiety ..	3	Ranulf de Dacre	5/1	£40	William de Dacre	6/3 †
Waitby Agnes moiety	..	,, ,,	7/1		,, ,,	
Crosby Garrett.. ..	3	Robt de Suleby	10/2	£34	Heir of Wm. de Suleby	22/8½
		,, ,,				
Little Musgrave ..	1	,, ,,	12/2		,, ,,	
Orton moiety	1½	,, ,,	5/1	£30	,, ,,	
Sandford ..	3	Ric. de Sandford	19/7	100/-*	....	..
Burton	..	,, ,,			John de Helton	1m
Hilton Bacon	3	Tho. de Hellerton	13/8	£13	Andrew de Hellerton	13/8
		Robt Bacon			John de Helton	
Asby Winderwath moiety ..	3	Robt de Askby	19/-	£40	Heirs of Robt de Askby	19/-
Winton	1	,, ,,			,, ,,	
Asby Cotsford moiety..	..	Peter de Cottesford ..	4/2	..	....	..
Little Asby	..	Robt le Engleys ..	2/10	£15	....	..
Crosby Ravensworth ..	3	Nichs de Hastings	14/7	£10	....	..
Nateby	3	,, ,,	13/7		....	..

m above a number = marks ; £ = pounds ; s = shillings ; d = pence. * This must be wrong. It is the "Ward" of Sandford without Burton. † For one-fourth of Orton and Waitby.
The rows of dots show where no information is given.
[ ] empty shows where information was given which is not now legible.
[ ] enclosing name or number shows information faded or wanting but certain or deducible.

Robert de Clifford Aug. 1314.	Cornage.	Robert de Clifford Oct. 1314.	Cornage.	Ward.	
Tho. de Hellebek	56/9	Ric. de Blenkanesopp	6s	£8	
,, ,,		Isabella de Slekburn		£4	
		Hen. de Warthcopp		40s	
,, ,,		Robt de Swynburn ..	50/9	£20	
Alan de Cabergh ..	17/8	Alan de Cabergh ..	17/8	£20	
Andrew de Harecla ..	[12/4]	Andrew de Harcla ..	[12/4]	£40	
....	..	....	..	..	
Tho. de Musgrave under age	[4/2]	Tho. de Musgrave under age	[4/2]	£42	
,, ,,	[6/-]	,, ,,	[6/-]	..	
Tho. de Musgrave under age and in ward	[13/8]	Tho. de Hellebek .. (moiety)	13/8	£30	
Hen. de Warthecopp	17/8	Hen. de Warthecopp	17/8	£30	
,, ,,		,, ,,			Tabulation I.
William de Dacre	12/6	Wm. de Dacre ..	12/6	£40	
,, ,,		,, ,,			continued on pages
Ric. de Musgrave	26/3	Ric. de Mosgrave	26/3	£34	306 to 309.
,, ,,		,, ,,			
,, ,,		,, ,,	[6/-]‡	£30	
Tho. de Musgrave .. under age	[6/7]	Tho. de Musgrave .. under age	..	[100s]	
Wm. de Helton ..	13/4	Wm. de Helton	13/4	£10	
Heirs of Andrew de Ellerton	13/8	Heirs of Andrew de Hellerton	13/8	£13	
Robert Bacon		Robert Bacon			
Robt. de Askeby	19/-	Robt. de Askby	19/-	£40	
,, ,,		,, ,,			
John de Cotesford ..	4/2	Joh. de Cotesford ..	4/2	£6 13s 4d	
Robert Lengleys ..	[2/10]	Robt. le Engleys ..	[2/10]	[£15]	
Nicholas de Hastings	27/2	Nicholas de Hastinggs	27/2	£40	
,, ,,		,, ,,			

‡ I do not feel certain about these numbers.

CORNAGE. Tabulation I. (*continued*).	Isabel de Clifford July 1362.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Roger de Clifford August 1388.	Cornage	Yearly value of services.
Hilbeck	Tho de Blenkinsopp Willm. Lengleys	6s	5m	Tho. de Blenkansopp Nicholas de Harrington	6/-	66.8
Askham	....	..	..	Wm. de Sandford ..	50/9	100s
Cabergh (Kaber) ..	Alex. de Talentyre Alan de Fulthrop	17/8	£4	Wm. de Fulthrop	17/8	£4
Hartley	....	..	..	Tho. de Musgrave ..	12/4	100s
Langton	....	..	..	....	..	..
Great Musgrave ..	....	..	..	Tho. de Musgrave	4/2	53 4
Murton	....	..	..	,, ,,	6/-	£4
Soulby	....	..	..	Tho. de Musgrave Wm. de Stirkeland Wm. de Querton	13/8	100s
Warcop	Thos. son of Henry de Warthcopp	17/8	£6	Robt. de Thornburgh and Isabel his wife, her right	17/8	£6
Waitby Agnes moiety	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Orton moiety	Joh. de Dacre, son of Katrine de Quitfeld	5/1	40s	Wm. de Dacre ..	5/1	40s
Waitby Agnes moiety	Adam Pakek, called also Ad. Parnyng	7/5	..	Wm. de Stirkeland ..	7/5	40s
Crosby Garrett ..	....	..	..	Tho. de Musgrave Prior of Watton	10/2	£6 5s
Little Musgrave ..	....	..	..	Thomas de Musgrave ..	11/2	40s
Orton moiety	....	..	..	Robt. de Latone ..	5/1	40s
Sandford	....	..	..	Robt. de Sandford ..	3/4	40s
Burton	....	..	..	Wm. de Helton & Agnes his wife, her right	13/4	40s
Hilton Bacon	....	..	..	Wm. de Whapelet and Elena his wife, her right § Ada[m] Bacon	13/8	20s
Asby Winderwath moiety ..	Margt de Moriceby	19/-	£6 13s* 6d	Christopher de Moresby	19/-	£7
Winton	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Asby Cotsford moiety..	Joh. de Cottesford..	4/2	40s	Stephen de Cottesford..	4/2	40s
Little Asby	Joh. Lengleys ..	2/10	40s	Tho. '*de*' Ughtred and Idonea his wife, her right	2/10	60s
Crosby Ravensworth ..	....	..	..	Ralph Hastyng(s)	27/2	10m
Nateby	....	..	..	,, ,,		

* This must be for £6 13s. 4d.

Thomas de Clifford January 1392.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	1392.	Yearly value of services.	1397-8.
Tho. de Blenkansopp	6/-	100s	....	..	John de Aselby and others
Wm. de Sandford ..	50/9	100s	Wm. de Sandford ..	100s	Robt. de Swinburn
Wm. de Fulthrop	17/8	£4	....	..	Roger de Fulthorp
Tho. de Musgrave Kt...	12/4	100s	Tho. de Musgrave ..	100s	Joh. de Kebergh and Peter Moglond
....	..	..	....	..	....
Tho. de Musgrave Kt.	4/2	53/[4]	Tho. de Musgrave	53/4	Peter Morlond
,, ,,	6/-	£4	,, ,,	£4	,, ,,
Tho. de Musgrave Kt. Wm de Strikeland (cleric)	13/8	100s	Tho. de Musgrave Wm de Strikland Wm de Querton	100s	Peter Morland and others
Wm. de Wherton [Robt] de Thornburgh and Isabel his wife	17/8	£10	....	..	W. del Thwaites
,, ,,			....	..	—Parning & W. Thwait
Wm. de Dacre ..	5/1	40s	Wm. de Dacre ..	40s	John Dacre
Wm. de Stirkeland ..	7/5	40s	....	..	....
Tho. de Musgrave Kt. Prior of Watton	10/2	£6 5s	Tho. de Musgrave and Prior of Watton	£6 5s	Peter Morland and others
Tho. de Musgrave Kt...	12/2	40s	Tho. de Musgrave ..	40s	P. Morland and others
Robt. de Laton ..	5/1	40s	Robt. de Laton ..	40s	—Laton
Robt. de [Sandford] ..	3/4	40s	....	..	Tho. de Sandford
Agnes de Helton ..	13/4	40s	Agnes de Helton ..	40s	Wm. de Helton
Wm. de Whapelode and Elena his wife § Ada[m] Bacon	13/8	20s	....	..	Wm. Lenglis and others
Christopher de Moriceby	19/-	£7 & 10d	Christopher de Moriceby	£7 & 10d	Margaret Moriceby
,, ,,			,, ,,		,, ,,
Stephen de Cotesford ..	4/2	40s	Stephen de Cottesford..	40s	John Cotisford
Tho. Uchtrede and Idonea his wife	2/10	60s	Tho. Ughtret and Idonea his wife	60s	Robert Lenglys
Ralph Hastyngs	27/2	£6 13s 4d	Ralph de Hastyng	10m	Richard Hastings
,, ,,			,, ,,		Peter, John, & Robert de Hastings

§ Though this reads as Adam I think it must be Ada. Two daughters could share the inheritance, not a son and a daughter.

CORNAGE. Tabulation I. (*continued*).	Matilda de Clifford 1403.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	John de Clifford June 1422.	Cornage.
Hilbeck	Tho. de Blenkensopp ..	6/-	100^s	Willm. de Blenkensopp	6/-
Askham	....	..	..	Robt de Sandford ..	50'9
Cabergh (Kaber) ..	Willm. de Fulthorp	[ ]	£4	Wm. Fulthorp	17/8
Hartley	....	..	..	Richd. de Musgrave ..	12/4
Langton	....	..	..	....	..
Great Musgrave ..	....	..	..	Richd. de Musgrave	4/2
Murton	....	..	..	,, ,,	6/-
Soulby	....	..	..	Richd. de Musgrave Henry de Wherton	11/4
Warcop	Robt de Thornburgh and Isabel his wife	[ ]	[ ]	Ralf, Earl of Westmorland	17 8
Waitby Agnes moiety		..	..		
Orton moiety	....	..	..	Tho. Dacre Kt. ..	10/2 ‖
Waitby Agnes moiety	Wm. de Strikland ..	7/5	60^s	Wm. de Louther ..	7'5
Crosby Garrett.. ..	....	..	..	Richd. de Musgrave ..	10/1
Little Musgrave ..	....	..	..	Richd. de Musgrave ..	11/2
Orton moiety	....	..	..	....	..
Sandford	[Robt. de Sandeford] ..	3/4	40^s	Tho. de Warthecopp and Katrina his wife Christopher Bardesey and Margaret his wife	3'4
Burton	....	..	..	Willm. de Helton ..	13.4
Hilton Bacon	Wm Whapelot and Elena his wife § Ada[m] Bacon ..	13/8	20^s	Richd. Ristwald John Helton	13.8
Asby Winderwath moiety	....	..	..	Christopher Moresby Kt.	(19/-) ‡
Winton	....	..	..	,, ,,	..
Asby Cotsford moiety..	....	..	..	....	4/2
Little Asby	....	..	..	Robt. de Sandford ..	10/2 ¶
Crosby Ravensworth ..	....	..	..	Richd. Hastynge	27/2
Nateby	....	..	..	,, ,,	

‖ Apparently doubled, which suggests that Thomas Dacre was holding the two moieties of Orton. No other feoffee for Orton occurs in the 1422 Inquisitio. ¶ These look like inversions 10^s 2^d for 2^s 10^d.
‡ This Inquisitio places Christopher Moresby to the wrong Asby, viz. : Asby Cotsford.

Elizabeth de Clifford Sept. 1424.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Elizabeth de Clifford Nov. 1435.	Cornage.	Feodary 1482.	Cornage.
....	..	..	....	..	Tho. Blenkensopp ..	6/-
Robt. de Sandford ..	50/9	£4	....	..	Tho. Sandford ..	50/9
....	..	..	Tho. Fulthorp	17/8	Alan Fulthrope	17/8
Rich[d] de Musgrave ..	..	..	....	..	Richd. Musgrave ..	[12/4]
....	..	..	....	..	....	..
Richd. de Musgrave	4/2	[ ]	....	..	Richd. Musgrave	4/2
,, ,,	6/-	[ ]	....	..	,, ,,	6/-
Richd. de Musgrave	13/8	100[s]	....	..	,, ,, Hugh Louther Thomas Wharton	13/8
....	..	..	....	..	Lord Latimer	17/8
....	..	..	....	..	Richard Beauchamp	..
Tho. de Dacre Kt. ††	[ ]	[40[s]]	....	..	Humphrey, lord Dacre	5/1
			....	..	John Louther	7/5
Richd. de Musgrave Prior of Watton	10/1	100[s] ‡	....	..	Richd. Musgrave Prior of Watton	24/9 **
....	..	..	....	..	Richd. Musgrave	..
Tho. de Laton †† ..	[ ]	[60[s]]	....	..	Tho. Laton of Sexhowe	..
....	..	..	....	..	Tho. Warcop of Colby son of Tho. & Katrina. Christopher Bardsay and Margaret	3/4
....	..	..	Willm. Hilton ..	13/4	Christopher Helton of.. Burton	13/4
....	..	..	....	..	Richd. Ristwald	13/8
					Roger Helton	
....	..	..	....	..	Christopher Moresby .. Kt.	(19/-) ⅄
....	..	..	....	..	,, ,,	
Stephen de Cottesford..	4/2	40[s]	....	..	John Catesford ..	4/2
....	..	..	Robt. de Sandford	¶ 10/2	Thomas Sandford ..	2/10
....	..	..	Richd. Hastynges Kt.	27/2	[Edwd] Hastings Kt.	27/2
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	

** This return is confused. Probably the missing carucate in Appleby mentioned in the text and not accounted for separately in the Inquisitions makes the difference.

†† These two are placed together in the Inquisition and the yearly value of the services of both given in one sum as 100[s] which is puzzling. One would expect 80[s]. See under 1388, p. 306.

⅄ The feodary gives 12/- not 19/-, but the error seems to be that the cornage for Asby alone is given, and not for Asby and Winton together.

CORNAGE. Tabulation II.	Carucates.	Feodary 1283.	Cornage.	Ward.	Isabel de Clifford June 1292.	Cornage.
Shap (Heppe) ..	1½	Gilbert son of Patrick	5/5 *	£42	....	..
Rosgill		,, ,,	5/5 *		....	..
Bampton Patrick	1	,, ,,	13/4 *		....	..
Knipe Patrick ..	1½	,, ,,	17d *	£10	....	..
Bampton Cundal	3	Ralf de Cundal	15/3	20m	Ralf de Coundale	15/3
Knipe Cundal ..		,, ,,			,, ,,	
Helton Flecket ..	3	Robt de Morville ..	17d	10m	....	..
Clifton	3	Henry Engayne.. ..	16/4	40m	Henry Engayne.. ..	16/4
Brougham		Cristiana de Burgham Wm. de Crakanthorp Hen. de Ryddings	13/6	5m	....	..
Yanwath	3	Willm. son of Thomas	3/6	..	....	..
Bolton		,, ,,	..	..	....	..
Brampton	3	,, ,,	8/6	..	....	..
Dufton		,, ,,	..	..	....	..
Crackenthorpe		John Mauchell	6/10	20m	John Mauchall	6/10
Knock Salcock	3	Joh. de Boyvile	3/4	20m	Henry de Boyvile ..	3/4
Cliburn Tailbois ..	1½	Robt. Tailbois	12/4½	20m	Lucas Tayleboys ..	12/4½
Cliburn Hervey ..	1½	Walter de Tyle (Tilia) Joh. de Staffol Hugh de Soureby	7/8½	10m	Walter Tylle Robt de Staffole Hugh de Soureby	15/5
Kirkbergh		Robt. Tailbois	2/-	50s	Roger Bulle	2/-
Colby		Hugh de Beauchamp ..	6/10	..	John de Goldington ..	6/10
Hoff	3	Tho. de Multon	9/2	..	Thomas de Multon	9/2
Drybeck.. ..		,, ,,			,, ,,	
Ormside Vesci		John de Vesci	13/6	..	....	..
Newbiggin		Robt. de Neubigging ..	20d	100s	....	..
Milburn		Earl Patrick	21/8	20m	Earl Patrick (moiety) ..	10/10

* The sum total of these, 25/7, shows a discrepancy unaccounted for. As shown in the later columns the total was 26/7.

Robert de Clifford Aug. 1314.	Cornage.	Robert de Clifford Oct. 1314.	Cornage.	Ward.	
Gilbert de Culwen	26/7	Gilb^{t} de Culwen	26/7	£52	
" "		" "			
" "		" "			
" "		" "			
Henry de Cundal	15/3	Hen. de Cundal..	15/3	£13 6^{s} 8^{d}	
" "		" "			
Robert Lengleys (moiety)	8½^{d}	Robt le Engleys.. ..	8½^{d}	10^{m}	
Walter de Wessington (moiety)	8½^{d}	Walt. de Wessington ..	8½^{d}	£6 13^{s} 4^{d}	
Gilbert Engayne ..	16/4	Gilbert Engayne ..	16/4	£26 13^{s} 4^{d}	
John Godebird Wm. de Crakenthorp Hen. de Riddings	13/6	John Godebird .. Wm. de Crakanthorp Hen. de Ryddinges	13/6	66/8	Tabulation II. continued on pages 312 to 315.
Ralf son of William	25/6	Ralf son of Willm.	25/6	100^{m}	
" "		" "			
" "		" "			
" "		" "			
Tho. Mauchall	6/10	Tho. Mauchel	6/10	£13 6^{s} 8^{d}	
John de Boyvil	3/4	Joh. de Boyvyle.. ..	3/4	£13 6^{s} 8^{d}	
Lucas Taliboys	12/4½	Lucas Tayleboys ..	12/4½	£13 6^{s} 8^{d}	
William de Tylia John de Staffol .. Robt de Soureby	7/8½	Willm. du Teyle Joh. de Staffol .. Robt. de Soureby	7/8½	£6 13^{s} 4^{d}	
John de Harcla	2/-	Joh. de Hercla	2/-	50^{s}	
Tho. de Colleby ..	6/10	Tho. de Colleby ..	6/10	£13 6^{s} 8^{d}	
Heir of Tho. de Multon (under age)	9/2	Heir of Thos. de Multon of Gillesland	9/2	£30	
" "		" "			
Joh. de Derewentwater	13/6	Joh. de Derwentwater ..	13/6	£10	
Robt de Neubiggyng	20^{d}	Robt de Neubiging ..	20^{d}	£10	
Earl Patrick	21/8	Earl Patrick	21/8	£6 13^{s} 4^{d}	

CORNAGE. Tabulation II. (*continued*).	Isabel de Clifford July 1362.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Roger de Clifford August 1388.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.
Shap (Heppe) ..	....	..	..	Robt. the Abbot of Heppe and Gilbert de Curwen	10/10	£8
Rosgill	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Bampton Patrick	....	..	..	Gilbert de Curwene and Robt. de Clibburne	15/9	40s
Knipe Patrick ..	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Bampton Cundal	Rogr de Cundal	15/3	60s	Robt. de Clybburne and Margaret his wife, her right	10/3	63s
Knipe Cundal ..	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Helton Flecket ..	Tho. Lengleys ..	8½d	£4	Tho. Ughtret and Idonea his wife, her right	17d	£8
	Wm de Wessington	8½d	£4			
Clifton	....	..	..	Wm. Ferour and Alianora his wife, her right	16/4	66 8
Brougham	....	..	..	John de Tyndale Wm. de Crakenthorpe	13/6	40s
Yanwath	....	..	..	Robt. de Greystoke Kt.	25/6	£18
Bolton	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Brampton	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Dufton	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Crackenthorpe.. ..	....	..	..	John Mauchell	6/10	60s
Knock Salcock.. ..	....	..	..	Will. de Seuleby ..	3/4	60s
Cliburn Tailbois ..	....	..	..	Walter Tailboys ..	12/4½	£4
Cliburn Hervey ..	diverse tenants ..	7/8½	10s	Thomas son of John de Warthcopp and Margaret his wife, her right	15 5	20s
Kirkbergh	....	..	..	[Walter Tailboys] ..	2s †	†
Colby	....	..	..	Tho. de Mallerstang.. and Margaret his wife, her right	6/10	60s
Hoff	....	..	..	Willm. de Dacre	9/2	£6
Drybeck.. ..	...*.	..	..	,, ,,		
Ormside Vesci	....	..	..	Joh de Derwentwater ..	13/6	60s
Newbiggin	....	..	..	Wm. de Crakanthorp ..	20d	40s
Milburn	....	..	..	Wm. de Lancaster ..	21/8	100s *

* I am not certain about these figures.

† The 2/- for Kirkbergh is in these Inquisitions included in the Cornage for Cliburn Tailbois, making it 14/4½. The £4 is the total of yearly services for both, Cliburn Tailbois and Kirkbergh.

Thomas de Clifford January 1392.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	1392.	Yearly value of services.	1397-8.
Abbot of Hepp and Gilbert de Curwen	[10s 10d]	£10	....	..	Abbot of Hepp
" "			....	..	....
Gilbert de Curwen and Robert de Clibburn	15/9	40s	Gilbert de Curwen and Robt de Clibburn	40s	Abbot of Hepp and others
" "			" "		Gilbert de Culwen
Robt. de Clibburn and Margaret his wife	15/3	60s	Robt. de Clibburn and Margaret his wife	60s	Abbot of Hepp and others
" "			" "		
Tho. Uctrede and Idonea his wife Wm. de Wassington	17d	£8	Tho. 'de' Ughtret and Idonea his wife Wm. de Wessyngton	£8	Edmund de Sandford and others
Wm. Feror and Alianora his wife	16/4	66/8	Wm. Ferour and Alianora his wife	66/8	Tho. de Louther
John de Tyndale Joh de Crakanthorp	13/6	40s	Joh. de Tyndale Wm de Crakanthorp	40s	John de Tindale and others
Ralf baron of Greystok	25/6	£20	....	..	Baron of Greistok
" "			....	..	" "
" "			....	..	" "
" "			....	..	" "
John Maunchell.. ..	6/10	60s	John Maunchell.. ..	60s	John Mauthell
Wm. de Souleby of.. Knok Salcok	3/4	60s	Wm. de Souleby ..	60s	John de Rukeby
Walter Tailboys ..	12/4½	£4	Walter Taylboys ..	£4	Walter Toile[boys]
Thomas son of John de Warthecopp and Margt his wife	15/5	20s	Tho. son of John de Warthecopp and Margaret his wife	20s	Robert Cliburn
Walter Tailboys ..	[2s] †	†	Walter Taylboys ..	†	W. LeEnglys
Margaret widow of Tho. de Mallerstang	6/10	60s	....	..	M. de Colleby
Willm. de Dacre	10/2 *	£6	Willm. de Dacre	£6	Wm. de Dacre
" "			" "	..	" "
Joh. de Derwentwater ..	13/6	100s	....	..	Joh. de Derwentwater
Joh. de Crakanthorp ..	20d	40s	Joh. de Crakenthorp ..	40s	W. Crakanthorp
Wm. de Lancaster ..	21/8	100s	....	..	Jo[n]by* and Robert de Vallibus

* Probably an error for " — Johnby " (see Nicolson & Burn, i., p. 386).

CORNAGE. Tabulation II. (*continued*).	Matilda de Clifford 1403.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	John de Clifford June 1422.	Cornage.
Shap (Heppe) ..	Abbot of Hepp .. Gilbert de Curwen	10/10	£10	Abbot of Hepp .. Christofer de Curwen	10/10
Rosgill	,, ,,			,, ,,	
Bampton Patrick	....	..	..	Christofer de Curwen and John de Clyburn	15/9
Knipe Patrick ..	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Bampton Cundal	....	..	..	John de Clyburn	15/3
Knipe Cundal ..	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Helton Flecket.. ..	....	..	..	Robert de Sandford ..	17d
Clifton	....	..	..	Willm. Wyber	16/4
Brougham	....	..	..	Joh. de Lancaster and Katrina his wife Joh. de Crakanthorp	13/6
Yanwath	Ralph, baron of Greystock	25/6	£20	John de Greystok Kt.	25/6
Bolton	,, ,,			,, ,,	
Brampton	,, ,,			,, ,,	
Dufton	,, ,,			,, ,,	
Crackenthorpe.. ..	....	..	..	John Maychell	6/10
Knock Salcock.. ..	....	..	..	Tho. de Rokeby.. ..	3/4
Cliburn Tailbois ..	....	..	..	Walter Tailboys.. ..	12/4½
Cliburn Hervey ..	....	..	..	John de Clyburn ..	16/9
Kirkbergh	....	..	..	Walter Tailboys ..	2/-
Colby	Tho. son of William .. de Warthecopp and Margaret his wife, her right	..	..	Tho. de Warthecopp .. and Margaret his wife	6/10
Hoff	....	..	..	Tho. de Dacre ..	9/2
Drybeck	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Ormside Vesci	[ ] de Derwentwater..	13/6	[ ]	Nicholas Radcliff and .. Elizab. his wife, her right	13/6
Newbiggin	....	..	..	Joh. de Crakanthorp ..	20d
Milburn	John, son of William .. de Lancaster	21/8	100s	John de Lancaster ..	21/8

Elizabeth de Clifford Sept. 1424.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Elisabeth de Clifford Nov. 1435.	Cornage.	Feodary 1482.	Cornage.
....	..	..	....	..	Abbot of Scapp .. / Thos Culwen Kt.	10/10
....	..	..	....	..	,, ,,	
....	..	..	Christopher Curwen and John Clibburne	15/9	Thos Culwen .. / John Clibborne ..	15/9
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	..	John Clibburne	15/3	[ ]	..
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	..	....	..	[ ] ..	..
Wm. de Wybargh ..	[ ]	[ ]	....	..	Tho. Whibargh	16/4
....	..	..	Willm Thornburgh / Willm Crakanthorp	13/6	John Burgham .. / Joh. Crakanthorp of of Newbiging / John Bird	13/6
....	..	..	....	Under Greystok barony	*Lancelot Threlkeld*	25/6
....	..	..	....		[ ] *Ratclyff*	
....	..	..	....		*Tho. Lancaster*	
....	..	..	....		Ralf, baron of Greystoke	
....	..	..	John Mauchale ..	6/10	John Mauchill	6/10
....	..	..	....	..	John Lancaster and his wife, d. & h. of John Rokeby ..	3/4
....	..	..	Walter Tailbose ..	[12s 4½d]	John Clibborne	12/4½
Tho. de Warthecopp of Sandford ..	16/9	40s	....	..	[ ] ..	15/8 †
....	..	..	Walter Tailbose ..	[2/-]	Richd. Ristwald.. ..	2/-
....	..	..	....	..	Thomas Warcop of Colby, son of Thomas Warcop, Vicar of Ky. Stephen ..	6/10
....	..	..	Tho. de Dacre Kt.	9/2	Humphrey lord Dacre	9/2
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	..	....	..	Thomas Ratclif .. / *Joh Barton*	13/6
....	..	..	Willm.Crakenthorpe	[ ]	John Crakanthorp of Newbigging ..	20d
....	..	..	....	..	John Crakanthorp of Holgill ..	21/8

† This must be an error for 15/5. Sub-feoffees are printed in *Italic.*

CORNAGE. Tabulation III.	Carucates.	Feodary c. 1283.	Cornage.	Ward.	Isabel de Clifford June 1292.	Cornage.
Kirkby Thore 3 pts.	3	Gilb[t] de Kirkby Thore	19/10	..	....	..
1 pt.		Robert de Berford	12/8	..	....	..
Ribbyslands (Appleby)	..	Eudo de Ribbys.. ..	2/-	20[s]	....	..
lands in Appleby ..	8[ac]	Heirs of Walt Spencer..	..	..	....	..
Rookby moiety ..	..	Tho. de Musgrave ..	2/7	40[s]	....	..
Lowther William ..	..	John de Coupland	20/4	..	Henry de Wyteby	20/4
Lowther John	..	Alan de Haverington			Adam de Haverington	
		Simon de Alne			Hugh de Louthre	
		Prior of Watton			Prior of Watton	
Mauld's Meaburn ..	..	Ric. le Fraunceys	33/-	£40	....	..
Whale	..	,, ,,			....	..
Smardale	3	Ric. de Sandford	13/8	£10	Mich[l] de Hartecla ..	13/8
		Theobald de Wateby				
Murton	..	....	[13/8]*	..	....	..
		Tenentes	ad	volun	tatem	
Warcop	..	....	..	..	....	..
Burgh	..	....	..	..	....	10/8½
Winton	..	....	..	..	....	20/9
					Cornage Total (*given*) £13 8[s] 9½[d]	

* 13/8 must be an error ; the figures of the entry just preceding repeated.

Robert de Clifford Aug. 1314.	Cornage.	Robert de Clifford Oct. 1314.	Cornage.	Ward.	
John de Kirkbythore	32/6	Joh. de Kirkbythore	32/6	£10	
" "		" "			
Heir of Eudo de Ribbys..	2s	Robt. de Bradewode ..	2s	20s	
Heir of Walter le Spencer	4d	....	[ ]	[ ]	
Tho de Musgrave † .. under age	[2/7]	Tho. de Musgrave † .. under age	[2/7]	..	
Heir of Joh de Coupland	20/4	Adam de Coupland	20/4	40s	
Henry de Haverington		Hen. de Haverington		40s	
Simon de Alne ..		Hugh de Louthre		40s	
Prior of Watton ..		Prior of Watton			Tabulation III. continued on pages 318 to 321.
Ric. le Fraunceis	33/-	Ric. le Fraunceys	33/-	£40	
" "		" "			
Andr. de Harecla ..	[13/8]	And. de Harcla	[13/8]	£6 13s 4d	
....	..	....	..	..	
Cornage Total (*given*) £27 15s 9d		Cornage Total (*given*) £27 15s 6d Ward Total (*given*) £790 6s 8d			
....	..	....	..	..	
....	..	....	..	..	
....	..	....	..	..	

† Tho. de Musgrave paid 46s 10d for cornage, as total for all his holdings, whereas his cornage should have been 33s. I cannot explain the discrepancy, but only with 46s 10d as given in the Inquisition does the sum total come right. Possibly Soulby was held under him and the cornage set down in error to him and the sub-feoffee both.

CORNAGE. Tabulation III. (*continued*).	Isabel de Clifford July 1362.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Roger de Clifford August 1388.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.
Kirkby Thore 3 pts.	Joh.de Kirkbythore	32/6	100s	Joh. de Kirkeby..	32/6	100s
1 pt.	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Ribbyslands (Appleby)	Wm Lengleys Kt. ..	2/-	13/4	Wm de Whapelot and Elena his wife, her right ..	2s	13 4
lands in Appleby ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
Rookby moiety ..	....	..	..	Robert de Laton Thomas Skayf ..	2/7	10s
Lowther William ..	....	..	..	Matilda, widow of Hugh de Louthre	20/4	60s
Lowther John	....	..	..	,, ,,		
Mauld's Meaburn ..	Ric. de Vernon Kt.	33/-	10m	Ric. de Vernon ..	33/-	£6 13s 4d
Whale	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Smardale	....	..	..	Tho. son of John de Warthcopp: the right of Katrina his wife ..	13/8	40s
Murton	....	..	..	Joh. de Holand Kt. ..	8/6	60s
Warcop	....	..	..	....	..	..
Burgh	....	..	..	....	..	..
Winton	....	..	..	....	..	..

Thomas de Clifford January, 1392.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	1392.	Yearly value of services.	1397-8.
Joh. de Kyrkeby	32/6	100s	John de Kirkby ..	100s	Joh. le Kirkbythore
,, ,,			,, ,,		....
Wm. de Whapelode ..	2s	20s	....	..	W. le Englys
....	..	..	....	..	....
Thomas Skayff ..	2/7	10s	Tho. Scayff ..	10s	Robert de Laton Kt.
Matilda, widow of Hugh de Louther	20/4	60s	Matilda, widow of Hugh de Louther	60s	Margaret, widow of * Hen. de Louther
,, ,,			,, ,,		,, ,,
Ric. de Vernon ..	33/-	£6 13s 4d	Richd. Vernon ..	£6 13s 4d	Ric. Vernon
,, ,,			,, ,,		....
Tho. de Musgrave ..	13/8	40s	Tho. de Musgrave ..	40s	Peter Morland and others
....	..	..	....	..	Lord de Wake
....	..	..	....	..	....
....	..	..	....	..	....
....	..	..	....	..	....

* I suspect Margaret is error for Matilda, as most certainly Henry is for Hugh.

CORNAGE. Tabulation III. (*continued*).	Matilda de Clifford 1403.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	John de Clifford June 1422.	Cornage.
Kirkby Thore 3 pts.	....	..	..	Joh. de Kirkeby..	32 6
1 pt.	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Ribbyslands (Appleby)	Walter [ ] ..	..	20^{s}	Richd. Ristwald.. ..	2/-
lands in Appleby ..	....	..	..	....	..
Rookby moiety ..	....	..	..	John Scayfe ..	2/7
Lowther William ..	....	..	..	Robt. de Louther Kt.	20 4
Lowther John	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Mauld's Meaburn ..	....	..	..	Richd. Vernon ..	33/-
Whale	....	..	..	,, ,,	
Smardale	....	..	..	Wm de Crakanthorp ..	13/8
Murton	....	..	..	John de Gray Kt. and Margaret his wife, her right ..	8 6
Warcop	....	..	..	....	..
Burgh	....	..	..	....	..
Winton	....	..	..	....	..

Elizabeth de Clifford Sept. 1424.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Elisabeth de Clifford Nov. 1435.	Cornage.	Feodary 1482.	Cornage
....	..	..	Robt. Kirkeby and Johanna, widow of Gilbert Wherton	32/6	John Kirkby	19/10
....	..	..	,, ,,		[Ralf] Pudsey Kt. .. *John Wherton*	12/8
....	..	..	....	..	Richd. Ristwald.. ..	..
....	..	..	....	..	in the lord's hands ..	..
....	..	..	John Scayfe..	2/7	Thomas Scayfe ..	2/7
....	..	..	Hugh Louther	20/4	Hugh Louther .. under [ ]	20/4
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	..	Richard Vernon	42/- *	Henry Vernon ..	33/-
....	..	..	,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	..	....	..	Reginald Warcop ..	13/8
....	..	..	John Gray Kt. and.. Margaret, his wife	8/6	Tho. ' Salingr ' Kt. ..	† [13/8]
....	..	..	....	..	....	..
....	..	..	....	..	....	..
....	..	..	....	..	....	..

* For this discrepancy I cannot at present account. † This [13/8] as explained in the text is an error, and is the cornage of the entry just previous repeated.

SOCAGE. Tabulation IV.	Extent of land.	Feodary 1283.	Rent.	Isabel de Clifford June 1292.	Rent.
Grange in Asby ..	..	Abbot of Byland ..	26/8	Abbot of Byland	9/8¾
Bretherdale	..	,, ,, ..	5/-	,, ,,	
Melkinthorpe	..	Margaret de Roos ..	5/- ‡	Margaret de Ros ..	5/-
Warcop	2^{ca}	Willm. de Warthecopp..	12^{d}	....	..
Warcop	6^{bov}	Wm. de Morvill.. ..	1^{d}	Heirs of Wm. Morel ..	1^{d}
Warcop and ..	16^{ac}	Tho. Bowet ..	6^{d}	Thomas Bovet ..	6^{d}
Soulby	4^{bov}	,, ,,		,, ,,	
Milburn	2^{terr}	'Bertum' de Johneby	£4 ‡	Patrick, son of the Earl [Patrick]	40^{s}
Wynborrow ..	2ten	Robt. de 'Waile'		,, ,,	
Rookby moiety.. ..	..	Robt. son of Henry de.. Askby	6^{d}	Robt. de Soureby ..	6^{d}
Wharton	..	....	..	....	..
Tebay	2^{ca}	Tho. de Hastings ..	5^{s}	....	..
Cliburn	½^{bov} † *a*	Geoffrey son of Hervy ..	1^{d}	Geoffrey, son of Hersy §	1^{d}
,, [lands	of Adam	son of Gilbert of Cliburn†]	..	Walter Tylle	6^{d} ‡
,, ...	1^{bov}	....	..	Joh. de Staffole	1^{pd} of cummin
,, ...	4^{bov} †	....	..	....	..
,, ...	..	....	..	....	..
Haile Grange	..	....	..	....	..
Colby	..	....	..	John de Galdington ..	6^{d}
Watby	9½^{ac} †	....	..	....	..
Mousegyl and Belowe..	pasture between	....	..	[Alan de Cabergh] § ..	6/8
Soureby	..	....	..	Tho. de Hellebek ..	13/4
				Total (*given*)	76^{s} 10¾^{d}
Drengs:—					
* [Clifton] ..	..	....	..	....	..
[Cliburn] ..	..	....	..	....	..
,, ..	..	....	..	....	..
,, ..	..	....	..	....	..
[Melkinthorpe ?]	..	....	..	....	..
[Louther] ..	..	....	..	....	..

* These are the places given in the Inquisitions of 1314 as those where the drengs held, but each is not assigned to his place; this is easily done by collation. † Description of land given from Inq. of 1314. (*a*) It is clear from the tabulation that the lands of Geoffrey, son of Hervey, were not 'Judlands.' ^{terr}=lands. ^{ten}=tenements. For other abbreviations see page 328.

Robert de Clifford August 1314.	Rent.	Robert de Clifford October 1314.	Rent.	Isabel de Clifford July 1362.	Rent.	Yearly value services.
Abbot of Byland	31/8	....	..	Abbot of Byland	31/8	..
,, ,,		....	..	,, ,,		
[ ] de Ros ..	5/-	....	..	....	..	..
[Robt. ?] de Warthcop..	12d	....	..	Tho. de Warthecopp	12d	½m
John Morel	1d	....	..	....	..	..
Thos. Bowet ..	6d	....	..	....	..	..
,, ,,		....	..	....	..	..
Tho. de Halteden	£4	....	..	....	..	..
Adam [Garret ?]..		....	..	....	..	..
Robert de Askby.. ..	6d	....	..	....	..	..
Hen. de Querton ..	6d ¶	....	..	Hugh de Querton ..	6d	½m
Heir of Tho. de Hastings	3s	....	..	....	..	..
Geoffrey, son of Hervey	1d	Geoffrey, son of Hervy ..	1d	....	..	..
William de Tylia.. ..	6d	William de Tylia ..	6d	....	..	..
John de Staffol	1pound of cummin	John de Staffol ..	1pound of cummin	....	..	..
Tenants of Reginald [son ?] of [ ] ..	1d	[Robt. de Soureby ?]	1d	....	..	..
William de Tylia.. ..	1d	William de Tyllia ..	[1d]	....	..	..
.... ..	..	....	..	....	..	..
Tho. de Colleby	6d	....	..	....	..	..
Thos. Bowet	1d	....	..	....	..	..
Alan de Cabergh.. ..	6/8	....	..	....	..	..
.... ..	..	....	..	....	..	..
Total (*given*) £6 17s	4½d **					
Gilbert Engayne	..	Gilbert Engayne ..	..	....	..	..
Heir of Geoffrey, son of Hervey ..	..	Heir of Geoffrey, son of Hervey ..	..	....	..	..
William de T[ ] ..	..	William de Ty[lie]..	..	....	..	..
Robt. de Soureby ..	..	Robt. de Soureby ..	..	....	..	..
Hugh de [ ] ..	..	Hugh de [ ] ..	..	....	..	..
Adam de Coupland ..	..	Adam de Coupland	..	....	..	..

Tabulation IV. continued on pages 324 to 327.

§ The names of these feoffees and the amounts are given in this Inq. but not the places, which are identified from the next Inq. (1314); Hersy must be an error for Hervy. || Or 4 arrows. ¶ Payable at feast of Assumption. ** Evidently an entry of 5/- is obliterated; since the column as deciphered only gives £6 12s. 4½d. ‡ Or a mewed sparrow hawk.

SOCAGE. Tabulation IV. (*continued*).	Roger de Clifford August 1388.	Rent.	Yearly value of services.	Thomas de Clifford January 1392.	Rent.	Yearly value of services.
Grange in Asby ..	Abbot of Byland	31/8	£6	Abbot of Byland	31/8	£6
Bretherdale	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Melkinthorpe	....	..	..	....	..	..
Warcop	Hen. de Warthecopp ..	12d	20s	Hen. de Warthecopp ..	12d	40s
Warcop	Tho. de Warthecopp ..	1d	12s	Tho. de Warthecopp ..	1d	12s
Warcop and ..	Willm. de Stirkeland	6d	20s	Wm. de Stirkland	6d	20s
Soulby	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Milburn	Willm. de Lancastre	[ ]	£4	Willm. de Lancastre	20s ?	[£3 ?]
Wynborrow ..	,, ,,			,, ,,		
Rookby moiety ..	Robt. de Laton	6d	10/-*	Robt. de Laton	6d	2s
Wharton	Wm de Querton.. ..	6d	½m	Willm. de Wherton ..	6d	[ ]
Tebay	Wm de Querton.. Richd. de Ristewald	5/-	20s	Willm. de Wherton Ric. de Ristwald	5/-	20s
Cliburn	Tho. son of Joh. de War- (thecop	1d	12d	Tho. son of Joh. de War- (thecop	1d	12d
,, Adam's land ..	,, ,, ..	6d	10s	,, ,, ..	6d	10s
,, 1 bovate ..	,, ,, ..	[ ]	3/-	,, ,, ..	1pd of cum.	3s
,, 4 bovates ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
,, Judland ..	William Jude	1d	[12d ?]	William Judd	[1d]	12d
Haile Grange	Abbot of Holm [Cultram]	13/4	20s	....	..	..
Colby	Joh. de Colby	6d	2/-	Margt. widow of Tho. .. de Mallerstang	6d	2s
Watby	....	..	..	....	..	..
Mousegyl and Belowe..	William de Fulthorp ..	6/8	[ ]	Willm. de Fulthorp ..	6/8	[ ]
Soureby	....	..	..	....	..	..
Drengs						
[Clifton] ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
[Cliburn] ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
,, ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
,, ..	....	..	..	....	..	..
[Melkinthorpe ?]	....	..	..	....	..	..
[Louther] ..	....	..	..	....	..	..

* There seems to be a confusion in this Inq. between the values of the two moieties of Rookby. The yearly value of the services from the moiety held by Cornage (Little Rookby) was 10s. The yearly value of services due from that held by Socage was 2s.

1392.	Yearly value of services.	1397-8.	Matilda de Clifford 1403.	Rent.	Yearly value of services.
Abbot of Byland ..	£6	....	....	..	..
" "					
....	..	....	....	..	..
Hen. de Warthecopp ..	40s	....	....	..	..
Tho. de Warthecopp ..	12s	....	....	..	..
Wm. de Strikland	20s	....	William de Strikland ?	[ ]	[ ]
" "			" "		
....	..	....	John, son of Wm. de Lancaster	[ ]	[ ]
....			" "		
....	..	....	Robert de Laton ..	6d	2/-
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	Willm de Wherton Rich. de Ristwald	[ ]	[ ]
Tho. son of Joh. de War-thecopp	12d	....	....	..	..
" "	10s	....	....	..	..
" "	3s	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	William Judde	1d	[ ]
Abbot of Holme	20s	....	....	..	..
Margt. widow of Tho. de Mallerstang ..	2/-	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	William Fulthorp ..	6/8	[ ]
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..
....	..	....	....	..	..

SOCAGE. Tabulation IV. (*continued*).	John de Clifford June 1422.	Rent.	Elizabeth de Clifford Sept. 1424.	Rent.
Grange in Asby	Abbot of Byland	31/8	....	..
Bretherdale	,, ,,		....	..
Melkinthorpe	....	..	....	..
Warcop	Tho. de Warthecop ..	12d	Ralf E. of Westmoreland	12d
Warcop	Tho. de Warthecop ..	1d	....	..
Warcop and ..	Willm. de Louther ..	6d	....	..
Soulby	[Willm. de Strikland] ..	[2d]	....	..
Milburn	John de Lancaster	£4	....	..
Wynborrow ..	,, ,,		....	..
Rookby moiety	Tho. de Laton	6d	....	..
Wharton	....	..	....	..
Tebay	....	..	....	..
Cliburn	....	..	....	..
,, Adam's land ..	....	..	....	..
,, 1 bovate ..	....	..	....	..
,, 4 bovates ..	....	..	....	..
,, Judland ..	William Judde	1d	....	..
Haile Grange	Abbot of Holm	13/4	....	..
Colby	....	..	....	..
Watby	....	..	....	..
Mousegyl and Belowe ..	William Fulethorp ..	6/8	....	..
Soureby	....	..	....	..
Drengs				
[Clifton]	....	..	....	..
[Cliburn]	....	..	....	..
,, ..	....	..	....	..
,, ..	....	..	....	..
[Melkinthorpe ?]	....	..	....	..
[Louther]	....	..	....	..

Elizabeth de Clifford Nov. 1435.	Rent.	Feodary 1482.	Rent.
....	..	Abbot of Byland	26/8
....	..	,, ,,	5/-
....	..	Richard Musgrave	5/-
....	..	Tho. Lancaster ..	
		Robert Warcop	12d
Robt. Warcope	1d	Robert Warcop	1d
Willm. Louther ..	6d	Hugh Louther ..	6d
,, ,,		,, ,,	
....	..	John Crakanthorpe of Holgill	£4
....	..	,, ,,	
....	..	Thomas Scafe	6d
....	..	Thomas Wharton ..	6d
Hen. de Wherton	5s	*Thomas Wharton* *	5/-
Richd. Ristwald ..		*Richd. Ristwald*	
....	..	[ ] ..	1d
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
Willm. Judd	1d	....	..
Abbot of Holm Cultram	13/4	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..
....	..	....	..

* Under-feoffees of [Edwd.] Hastings Kt. It is quite clear from some entries in the Tabulations that though the names given in the Inquisitions are usually those of the feoffees in chief under the Cliffords, sometimes those of under-feoffees are given instead, and sometimes those of feoffee and under-feoffee both.

NETHER BURGH. CORNAGE. Tabulation V. Inquisitio p.m. Thome de Clifford Jany. 1392.	Description of holding.	Rent.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.	Partitio feodorum Thome de Clifford 1392.	Description of holding.	Rent.	Cornage.	Yearly value of services.
25 freeholders at Whitsuntide and St. Martin's also	25[s] for all services.	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Tho. de Derby	[2 bov.?]	1[d]	..	[ ]	John Dicconson	½ bov.	..	..	2/-
Joh. de Oxenthwayth ..	½ bov.	18[d]	2[d]	2/-	Joh. de Oxenthwayt ..	½ bov.	..	..	2/-
Thos. de Derby	½ bov.	18[d]	2[d]	2/-	Thos. de Derby	½ bov.	..	..	2/-
Joh. Bowet	½ bov.	18[d]	2[d]	2/-	John Bowet	½ bov.	..	..	2/-
Joh. Spencer	2 bov.	2[d]	8[d]	8/-	John Spencer	2 bov.	..	..	8/-
Johanna de Mallerstang..	1 cradle value on occasion	2[d]	[ ]		Johanna de Mallerstang	..	..	..	6/-
,, ,, ..	4 ac.	½[d]	(½lb. of cummin)		,, ,,				
,, ,, .. (½ of 1 mess.)	8 ac.	20[d]	2[d]	2/-	,, ,,				
Willm. Smith do.	8 ac.	20[d]	2[d]	2/-	Willm. Smith .. .. ½ of 1 mess. &c.	..	..	..	2/-
Robert Douglas do.	8 ac.	20[d]	2[d]	2/-	Robert Douglas .. .. ½ of 1 mess.	1 car.	..	..	2/-
Tho. Culverdowff, 1 mess.	..	..	..	2/-	....	..	..	..	..
,, ,, ..	2 bov.	..	8[d]	[4/-]	Tho. Culverdowf ..	..	..	..	4/-
,, ,, ..	vaccaries 17	..	..	4/-	....	..	..	..	..
Thos. Skayk * for le Redegetscliffe (farm)	..	..	..	4/3½	....	..	..	..	..
Constable's dues to :—									
Joh. de Crakanthorp (life interest) from Cabergh & Hellebek	12 quarters of oats	=2/-	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Rikefilmer 'farm' ..	6 bov.	2½[d]	..	..	....	..	..	..	..

These I could decipher only in these two documents. I believe returns of the sort are in the two 1314 Inquisitions decayed or hidden under stain.

Abbreviations used :—ca.=carucate ; bov.=bovates ; mess.=messuage ; ac.=acres. vaccary=cow pasture (dairy farm). * Error for Skayfe. (?)

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{188}{339}$, WESTMORLAND.

29th Jany., 14 Henry vj. (1436).

(Owners of land worth 100^s and above in that year in the county).

	worth	subsidy due
Cristopher Moresby Kt. has lands and tenements	£60	30/-
Henry Wharton ,, ,, ,,	£25	12/6
Willm. Blenkensopp ,, ,, ,,	£26	13/-
Willm. Crakenthorpp ,, ,, ,,	£15	7/6
Thos. Warcopp ,, ,, ,,	£13	6/6
Robert Warcopp ,, ,, ,,	£26	13/-
Thomas Warcopp of Sandford ,, ,,	£10	5/-
John Barton ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-
John Scayff ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-
Richd. Blenkensopp ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
Thos. Musgrave ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
Thos. Blenkensopp jun^r ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-
John Langdale ,, ,, ,,	100^s	2/6
Thomas Strickland Kt. ,, ,, ,,	£86	43/-
Walter Strickland ,, ,, ,,	£13	6/6
Robert Leyburn Kt. ,, ,, ,,	£53	26/6
Robt. Belyngham ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
Tho. Midleton ,, ,, ,,	£20	10/-
Willm. Thornburgh ,, ,, ,,	£20	10/-
Nicholas Leyburn ,, ,, ,,	£13	6/6
Willm. Levyns ,, ,, ,,	100^s	2/6
John Roos ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
Hugh Ward ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
John del Chambre ,, ,, ,,	100^s	2/6
Roger Gnype ,, ,, ,,	£10	5/-
Richard Preston ,, ,, ,,	£21	10/6
Richard Doket sen^r ,, ,, ,,	£20	10/-
Richard Doket jun^r ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-
Robert Dokwra ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-
Richd. Roos ,, ,, ,,	£20	10/-
John Roos son of the aforesaid Richd. ,,	£6	3/-
Tho. Bayrose ,, ,, ,,	100^s	2/6
Robt. Garnet ,, ,, ,,	100^s	2/6
Joh de Weshyngton ,, ,, ,,	£6	3/-

					subsidy due
	has lands and tenements worth				
Johanna widow of Thomas Roos	„	„		100s	2/6
Robt. Liester (?), clerk	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Willm. Buggyngs, clerk	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Richd. de Manser(gh)	„	„	„	100s	2/6
John Bethome	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Robt. Roche	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Hugh Salkeld senr	„	„	„	£46	23/-
Hugh Salkeld junr	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Willm. Lancaster of Hertsopp		„	„	£20	10/-
Henry Threlkeld Kt.	„	„	„	£80	40/-
Isabel widow of William Hoton		„	„	£20	10/-
Robert Lancastre	„	„	„	100s	2/6
Robert Sandford	„	„	„	£40	20/-
John Clibbourn	„	„	„	£17	8/6
Isabel widow of John Helton		„	„	100s	2/6
Nicholas Fallowefeld	„	„	„	£10	5/-
Gilbert Wherton	„	„	„	£10	5/-
Hugh Lowther of Ascome	„	„	„	£6	3/-

This includes the barony of Kendal, as well as the barony of Appleby, but it seems hardly worth while not to give the whole. It illustrates the scanty Inq. of 1435.

ART. XIX.—*Letters of John Nicolson to Chancellor Burn.* By the Rev. J. WHITESIDE.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

THE originals of these four letters are in the Orton (Westmorland) Church chest, which, as one would expect where a chancellor has been the incumbent, is unusually full of documents. The writer is John Nicolson, Notary Public, of Carlisle. I make him out to be the registrar, grandson of the bishop's brother John, who was also registrar and chapter clerk. He died in 1795. The letters are part of what must have been a voluminous correspondence, and leave one with an unsatisfied appetite for more. Containing a few allusions which throw a little side-light on some comparatively trivial incidents of the time, I think they may just be worth the space they will occupy in our *Transactions*. References to wills, fragments of cathedral gossip, details of the movements of personal friends, difficulties arising in country parishes about the presentation—this is the sum and substance.

I give each letter at length, and then add such notes as may help to make it more clear.

I.

We have had a Court this morning and have adjourned for five weeks, when Sentence should be given touching a Legacy, the dispute being whether it is £20 or £40, being in figures, and having an appearance of being changed from one to the other. I want to send you the original will and proceedings, but am at a loss for the best way of conveying them.

Mr. Denton showed us a letter from Widow Simpson about the fees of her accounting. Mr. Mounsey said he would examine into it, but that Parson Wills and he had been very jolly the evening that the business was settled, but he knew not what was paid.

We were at Wigton a month ago—only two Wills—Mr. Clark having then lost a son, I was obliged to carry Mr. Richardson.

I do not remember that I gave my opinion about the living of Aketon—it has made a noise, but I pretend not to judge of the obligations and quarrels of others: it is now said that there was a dispute, but we know not the cause of it.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your much obliged & obedient servant,
JOHN NICOLSON,
Carlisle, 7th Decr 1781.

The Court is the Consistory, which dealt with local wills up to the passing of the Probate Court Act in 1858, when they were very properly removed from the ecclesiastical sphere. If the testator had property in another diocese also, the will went to the Prerogative Court at York. In ordinary cases it was proved "in common form" before the Registrar privately, but when a dispute arose as to the interpretation, or when the validity was questioned, it must be proved "in solemn form" in Court, where the chancellor in person gave his decision. Here is a small contention, whether an amount is £20 or £40, the uncertainty being probably due to an erasure or bad writing. To refer such matters in those days to Dr. Burn at a place so inaccessible as Orton must have been a serious difficulty, and in consequence of the distance the chancellor apparently did not always attend Court: some surrogate might represent him, postponing and adjourning when the matter was important. After each such Court, the registrar would write to his superior and keep him in touch with the proceedings. One rather gathers that, however conscientiously things were done, there was no particular hurry, and less precision than now prevails. Mr. Denton would appear from Letter III. (quoted below) to have been a proctor; there were many Dentons about: the Rev. Henry was vicar of Crosthwaite and Castle Sowerby, and the name is frequent in the Dalston and Sebergham registers. Mr. Mounsey was probably George, father of Robert, who was father of George Gill, a recent registrar. Parson Wills might be

Edmond Wills, incumbent of Hayton. "Jolly" need not denote an undue amount of festivity, though those were the days of many bottles.

At that period general chapters or courts were held annually by the chancellor in the four rural deaneries of the diocese, at Carlisle, Penrith, Appleby and Wigton.* On this occasion Dr. Burn was evidently absent. Possibly the registrar for the convenience of parties may have sat for small and easy cases. Clark and Richardson might be assistants in Mr. Nicolson's office.

The Aketon dispute that "made a noise," such as is heard in most parishes at intervals, was so petty that it was not intelligible when it reached Carlisle, and has passed into oblivion. The point would arise after the death of Henry Lowther, who was presented by Sir James Lowther in 1753.

The date of the second is Dec. 17th, 1781:—

II.

Our Dean and Miss Waughs have quarrelled—they were desired by the late Dean and Chapter to sit in the Prebends' Seats (for ladies.) The Dean has got an order made for another Seat for them and Miss Wilsons (to turn Miss Waughs out.) This they greatly resent. Mr. Law is not gone. We and Mr. Paley and his wife and Mr. Law talk of going to-morrow to Netherby for a night or two. Dr. Graham had an epileptic fit last Monday—alarmed his family, but was soon well. His son and wife are gone to live near Doncaster.

The dean,† Dr. Thomas Percy (1778-1782), was a bold man to dare the displeasure of the Misses Waugh. These five ladies, Judith, Isabella, Elizabeth, Mary and Margaret, resided at Tullie House in great style and state. They were daughters of John Waugh, chancellor and prebendary, who for thirty years, to his death in 1764, had been the moving spirit in the diocese. Having inherited the paternal force of character and being the

* See Chancellor Prescott's first charge: *Visitations in the Ancient Diocese.*

† Among his Chapter was Dr. Paley.

recognized leaders of local society, they desired to lead, or not to be led, in the cathedral also. The late dean (Dr. Thomas Wilson, 1764-1768) and the chapter* had assigned seats to them among the prebendal ladies: as an act of grace they were permitted to worship, or to "sit," as the saying is, where they had sat before in the days of their father's supremacy. But now, the new dean orders a new seat to "turn them out"; this is the expressive phrase. And along with them must go also the late dean's daughters, who do not appear to have minded. The quarrel and resentment can be pictured by the imagination.

Mr. Law was the canon of the second stall. Mr. Paley was vicar of Dalston (1776-1793): his wife (the second) being a Miss Dobinson of Carlisle. Of Netherby the owner at the time was the Rev. Robert Graham, rector of Arthuret and Kirkandrews-on-Esk, who became heir in 1757 through the death, without issue, of his first cousin, Catherine Lady Widdrington. Though a visit to Netherby would seem unlikely after Dr. Graham's fit, it is explained by the statement that he "was soon well."

III.

Dear Sir,

This being a Court Day, I deferred answering your queries in hopes of receiving instructions from both proctors, but Mr. Denton has not appeared. I have sent him a copy. The will, I supposed, when proved, was engrossed 20. It is registered so. There is not the least suspicion of an alteration after the will was proved. The other questions I cannot speak to.

You will be affected, I doubt not, with Mr. Yates's death: Ainstable is vacant. Mr. Fisher has got a presentation: we have some doubt as to a dispensation. Mr. Smalwood held both.

Next Court 8th, Feb.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your obliged and obedient Servant,
JOHN NICOLSON,
Carlisle 11 Jan. 1782.

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* The stalls in order were occupied by John Waugh (1768), John Law (1773), Roger Baldwin (1764), Joseph Amphlett (1763).

Whereas now any solicitor may practise in the Consistory Court, at that time it was necessary to be admitted as proctor. The legacy in dispute was to or by Daniel Wilson, as is shown by a note on the back of the letter in Dr. Burn's handwriting. The number 20 refers to the folios, and there is a question of a missing sheet.

The living of Ainstable was held by Charles Smallwood from 1749 to 1771: he also had Kirkoswald, under the great seal, from 1761 to 1771. On his death Thomas Railton was presented to Ainstable, and, he having died or resigned recently, Mr. Fisher, apparently of Kirkoswald, was presented. Nicolson is uncertain whether a dispensation is necessary. Mr. Smallwood seems not to have had one.

Richard Yates had become Master of Appleby on the cession of Jonathan Banks in 1723. There is a laudatory paragraph in Nicolson and Burn, vol. i., p. 332, to the effect that he "hath executed that office for the space of 50 years, with honour, ability, assiduity and learning, who hath instructed two generations of gentlemen and others, not only in the town and neighbourhood, but from many other parts of the Kingdom, and furnished during that time near half the foundation of Queen's College aforesaid; who, together with classical precepts, hath been always solicitous, by his example and every method of instruction, to recommend the practice of virtue and religion."

This is interesting as being probably in the words of Dr. Burn, who must have known Mr. Yates well.

Also in St. Laurence's Church there may be seen a marble tablet with the following inscription, which is said to have been the composition of Dr. Paley, sometime vicar*:—"To preserve the remembrance of a long and valuable life spent in the most useful of all employments, this marble is inscribed with the name of Richard Yates, M.A., 58 years master of the Grammar School in this town, whom an accurate knowledge of Roman literature,

* I am indebted to Mr. John Nanson of Appleby for this and other notes.

a just and harmonious elocution, universal diligence and a serious attention to the moral and religious improvement of his pupils eminently qualified for the important station which he held. He died December the 31st, 1781, and in the 81st year of his age."

In *Westmorland Church Notes* there is the following under the heading "Kirkby Stephen":—"There was a stone, now in pieces, to Mr. Yates, headmaster of the Grammar School at Appleby, and with rhymes on it."

Nathan Berry, sexton there since 1860, tells me that before the restoration it was inside against the south wall. "I read it many a time, but when they commenced restoration they removed Yates' stone and it fell to pieces, and no care was taken of it after, but I gathered together the pieces with parts of the rhymes on and placed them beside a wall in the churchyard, and afterwards with some other work going on at the church they all got used," a procedure which is not so very unusual at "restorations"!

IV.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Denton has not been here since my last to you, nor has he answered your questions.

Kirkoswald only of late has been presented to —— being a Crown living the expense was thought too high for a presentation. Mr. [Fisher] intends to try them without a dispensation. Mr. Paley hears nothing of Appleby School, nor does my brother say that their College wants or intends to nominate. He has taken a living in Warwickshire. We are going to dine at Dalston. Mr. Paley is tolerably well, but very low on the weather's so suddenly changing. He said he did not speak four words on Friday. Our Dean has greatly offended the Miss Waughs about sitting in the Cathedral. He says they are ordinaries there and have a right to dispose of the seats. I question that his Doctrine and yours would accord. Mr. M. says no more about the fees—puts off all things of that kind: they talk of preparing the witnesses in C. Ricardson's Will.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN NICOLSON,

Carlisle 20 Jan. 1782.

Dr. Burn having replied about the Ainstable business, Nicolson returns to the subject. He points out that from 1668 until of late, *i.e.*, since 1714, Kirkoswald had been sequestrated and held by a succession of licensed curates, beginning with George Yeates, rector of Croglin. The fees for a Crown living, as also for a dispensation, which is sometimes a troublesome thing to obtain, had been prohibitive. Probably the curates-in-charge of Ainstable were usually the vicars of Kirkoswald: the custom had grown up of treating the two livings as one cure, and Mr. Fisher, who had succeeded John James, proposes to continue what had been recognised.

The reference to Mr. Paley's health is interesting and makes one not at all surprised that he resided very little at Great Musgrave when he was rector there, nor was he long in possession, for a more damp and unhealthy site for a residence—liable to be flooded, as the old rectory was, to a depth of several feet by the river Eden—is impossible to think of. Before it was demolished some twenty years ago I have seen the water almost knee high in the lower rooms.

Dr. Paley was appointed to Musgrave in 1775, to Dalston (1776-1793) to Appleby in 1779 (Sept. 10) to Great Salkeld with the office of archdeacon in 1782 (Aug. 5). But, though he was a fully average pluralist, he did not hold all four together. He was at Musgrave certainly till 1777 (there is a terrier there written and signed by him of that year) and probably till 1779. He resigned Appleby in 1782, but held on to Dalston, having for three years divided his time between the two parishes.

The charter of Appleby School, granted in 1573 by Queen Elizabeth, empowered the governors to "elect head master and usher." But in 1671 an indenture was executed between the governors and the provost and scholars of Queen's, whereby the college obtained the right of nomination.* This was due to a gift of £380 to the

* Nicolson and Burn, i., 331.

school from three members of the college, viz., Thomas Barlow, provost, (afterwards bishop of "Bugden"*) Thomas Smith (subsequently bishop of Carlisle) and Randal Sanderson,† rector of Wighill, Hants, all Westmorland boys who had been educated at Appleby—born respectively at Lang-gill in Orton, Whitewall in Asby, and Reagill in Crosby Ravensworth.

John Nicolson's brother was a fellow of Queen's. Mr. Paley, having resided in the neighbourhood, would be in possession of the latest news. The college, which had nominated Mr. Yates, has long ceased to exercise the right, even if it was ever a legal one, not having been confirmed by Act of Parliament. But one governor is still the nominee of the provost and fellows.

The momentous seat question is a long time in evidence: the ladies are not without friends and supporters. Nicolson seems to be not unfavourable to them. He doubts the justice of the dean's action, or at least surmises that the chancellor would be hostile. But the dean and chapter undoubtedly were, and still are, the ordinary, the dean by himself not having, nor having ever claimed, any power to assign seats or stalls. The second letter speaks of his having "got an order," probably one passed in 1781:—"We do hereby assign the cross pew under the minor canon's stalls on the right hand to the use of the surviving families of deceased members of the chapter." What Dr. Burn's "doctrine" might be one cannot say; at any rate the chancellor himself had not, nor has (unless he be one of the chapter) any authority. Dr. Prescott, to whom I owe this and other notes, reminds me of

* So nicknamed because during his tenure of the see of Lincoln, 1675-1691, he is said never to have visited the city, preferring to reside at his palace of Bugden in Huntingdonshire. Wherein he resembles Bishop Watson. Fuller speaks of him as an "especial ornament of Westmorland," but the author of *Worthies of Westmorland* (p. 113-124) thinks that, along with Lincoln and the whole Church of England, we can "afford to forget him." This judgment seems somewhat bitter; he was a type of bishop produced by the period in which he lived. If a "time-server and sycophant," he was at any rate a very learned man.

† See "Lintel Inscription at Reagill," *Transactions*, vol. xv., o.s., p. 139-141.

an amusing episode in 1668 when Bishop Rainbow gave Chancellor Roland Nicholls leave to sit in his stall. The ordinaries "barred him out." But the bishop was soon appeased, and the chapter too; for the chancellor, having written a sort of apology to the effect that he made no claim, was assigned a seat, not a stall, outside the range of the stalls.

ART. XX.—*The Common Fields of Hayton.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

I have taken some pains to trace the site of the old common fields, or to use a synonymous term, townfields of the parish of Hayton. Each township of the parish appears to have possessed at least one such field, composed of contiguous plots of customary freehold tenure, subject to the payment of very small ancient rents to the lord of the particular manor in which it lay. At the close of the eighteenth century there were many relics of these fields in existence, but, unfortunately, at that period it is rare to find plans delineated upon the title deeds, and the mere verbal description of the property sold or exchanged is, at this distance of time, extremely vague. In the following century, however, the deeds frequently bear plans, which show at a glance the shape and surroundings of the land conveyed, and by comparing those plans with my estate map, I have been able to identify the position of some fragments of those townfields which are expressly referred to. A few of them still continued in their original uninclosed state; others had been merely surrounded by a hedge, while the majority had, for the purpose of improved cultivation, been bought up and laid together, so as to form modern inclosures, and thus their pristine shape and features had been effaced for ever.

These fragments may be compared to the few bones which a geologist sometimes adduces as the datum from which the complete skeleton of an extinct organism may be reconstructed, but in the present case the hope that we shall ever ascertain the size and form of the local

townfields seems a forlorn one, for we only make their acquaintance at a late period when they had become degenerate and obsolete.

The typical English common field was, as Mr. Seebohm tells us,* divided into a great number of small strips, separated from one another by margins of unploughed turf, and containing an acre or half an acre apiece, or to be more precise, containing what was, at the period when they were laid out, locally reputed an acre or half an acre, for these strips usually consisted of as much land as the old-fashioned plough could conveniently traverse in a working day.

In Germany, where a similar system of cultivation prevailed, the word *morgen*, literally "morning," was used to denote a strip in the common field, while in France *journal*, meaning a day's work, had a similar meaning.

When we speak of an acre nowadays we mean any area of ground which contains the exact quantity of 4840 square yards, but it would surprise many people to learn that the acre of former times had a conventional shape. Such nevertheless appears to have been the case, for Du Cange tells us that the English acre mentioned in the History of Battle Abbey was forty perches in length and four in breadth, and even Dr. Johnson defines it as "a quantity of land containing in length forty perches and four in breadth."

Now forty perches make a furlong, and a furlong, as Spelman informs us, means a furrow-long or the length of a furrow in a ploughed field. It is very inconvenient, when ploughing a small piece of land, to be continually turning the plough, and it seems to have been the custom, from time immemorial, to lay out the strips so that the furrows might be as long as possible, and so that the plough might travel forty perches (or one-eighth of a mile) without a turn. That is the reason why the length of

* The English Village Community, Chapter I.

the strips in the common fields frequently seems out of all proportion to their breadth, for if they contained an acre apiece, their length was forty perches or rods and their breadth four rods. If they contained half an acre apiece, their length was one furlong and their breadth two rods, while if they consisted of a quarter of an acre only, their length was still forty rods and their breadth but one rod. This unit of forty by four rods or perches, which was made or recognised as the standard measure by the Statute 33, Edw. I., is what Prof. Maitland has called "the ideal acre."* For a variety of reasons,—it may have been the laziness of the ploughmen, the feebleness of the oxen or horses, the stubbornness of the soil, or especially the conformation of the ground, the actual acre of the common fields often fell short of the ideal both as regards size and symmetry, but for all that it was locally reputed to be and was called an acre. As a general rule every commoner possessed several, sometimes a very great number of strips in the common field and these did not lie together in one block, but were widely scattered over the open field, in order that he might obtain his due share of the better as well as of the poorer soil. When all the crop had been carried, it was customary in some places for the commoners to turn out cattle or sheep, to graze upon the entire area of the open field, or to allow parts of it to lie fallow in rotation, so that the land might recover its power of fertilisation. But I cannot supply any evidence of such customs at Hayton.

The strips of the common field were, as I have already mentioned, generally called "acres," a term which did not originally imply anything with regard to their actual admeasurement. In Cumberland they were more frequently called "dales" or "riggs." The grass border which separated the strips one from another was in general termed a "balk," which meant a strip of turf left

* *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 379.

unturned by a careless ploughman between two parallel furrows, and hence the margin of grass intentionally left to prevent one neighbour from encroaching upon the strip of another in the open field. The Cumbrians called this grass margin a "reean." The modern Germans use the words *balken*, *rain*, and *rain-balken*, to denote the same thing. A block or group of parallel strips was in some parts of England termed a "furlong," * from the fact of its being a furrow in length, and every such furlong was bordered by a balk much broader than that which separated its constituent strips, where the hare sat in her form, and the wild vegetation flourished undisturbed by the plough. I do not think that the Cumberland people used any specific term to denote such a group of dales or riggs. The balk which lay at the head of the furlong, where the ploughs turned when they had traversed a strip, was distinguished by the name of the "head-land" or "head-rigg." Very often the lie of the ground necessitated one furlong being laid out cross-wise, or at right angles to another, so that the head-rigg of the former abutted on the side of the latter. These transverse strips were then termed "butts" or "butt-riggs."

Such was the "fair field *full of folk*," which the fourteenth-century poet William Langland saw in his vision concerning Piers the ploughman, "where all manner of men, the mean and the rich, in ering and sowing, swonken full hard." Piers told the pilgrims that he had a *half-acre* to erie, so he and the pilgrims set about ploughing the half-acre, while "diggers and delvers digged up the *balks*," and the old reprobate, "Sloth," remarked that, though he had been priest and parson for more than thirty winters, he could neither "sol-fa, nor sing, nor Saints' lives read," but he knew how to find a hare in a *furlong*.

Inclosure and plough have long since obliterated the common fields of Hayton parish, but I have discovered

* The term used in this sense is not a unit of measure. "Shot" was elsewhere a synonymous expression.

the following clues which tend to show the position of what remained of them three generations ago.

The Nook Townfield.

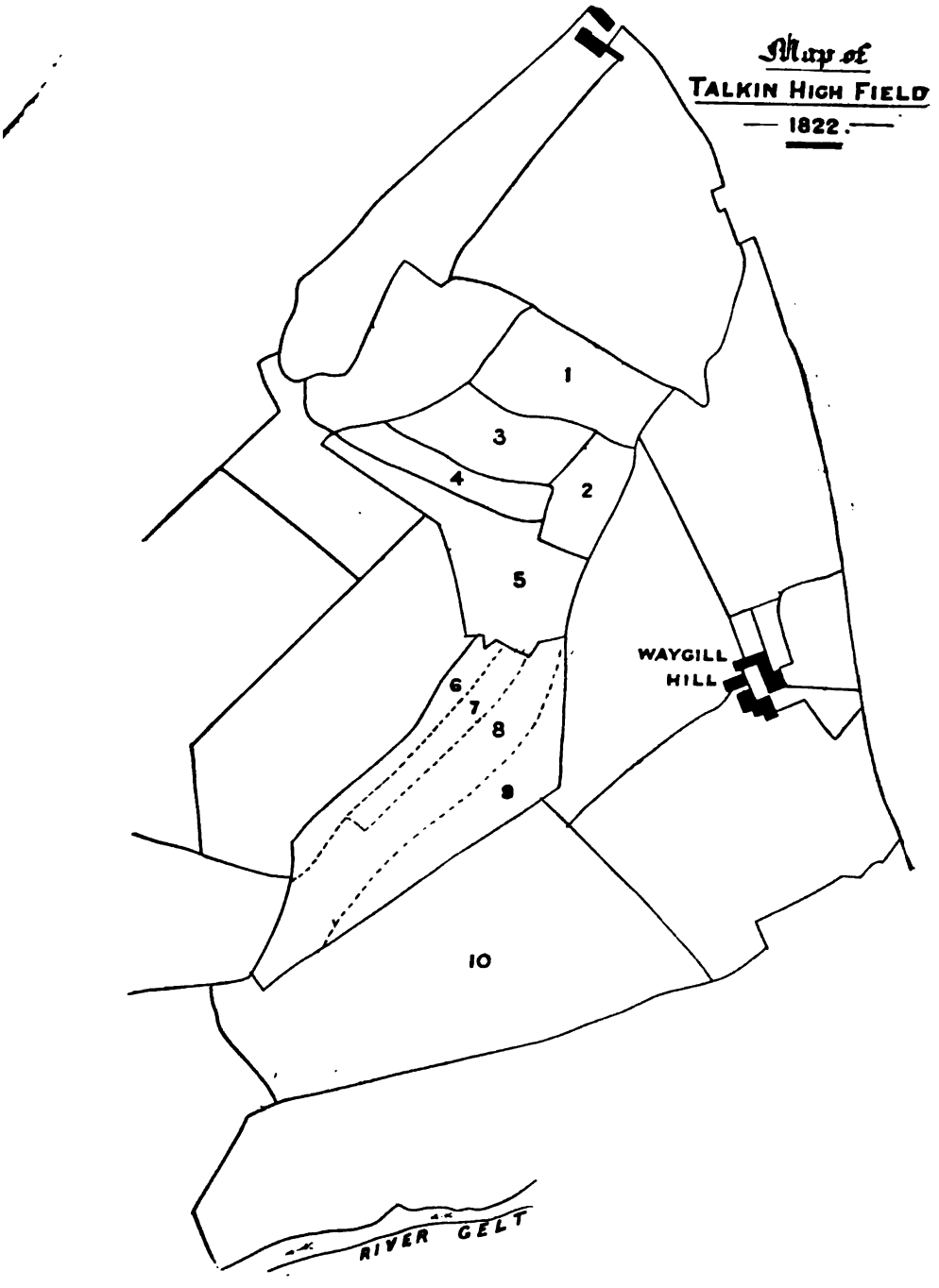
The accompanying plan, of land lying westward of Hayton village, appears from internal evidence to have been made between the years 1816-1826. A comparison with the map of the manor * shows that the lane leading from Byegill to a now forgotten building called "Lonnin Foot," formed the boundary of the ancient land. The long narrow shape of the inclosures, and the alternating names of their owners, imply that the tract had formed part of a common field. Half way along the "Briar Lonning," leading from Hayton Lodge to Hayton Townfoot, is a group of three dales, one of which is thus described in a conveyance by John Threlkeld in 1827:—

A customary close called Gully Flatts dale containing by estimation 2 acres (the Statute measure was only 1a. 1r. 29p.) *in the Townfield called the Nook* within the territories or precincts of Hayton, by payment of the customary rent of 4d., bounded by the lands of Abraham Bird on the East, and of William Blenkinsop on the West.

The two dales belonging to William Blenkinsop and Abraham Bird, which lay west of it, were then uninclosed, while another dale still further to the westward, belonging to William Hall, extended to "Briar Lonning" and contained one acre and one rood.

I have selected these examples as typical of what were perhaps original dales containing a reputed acre apiece. The inclosure of the common pasture in 1704 had taught the parishioners the advantage of larger fields, held not in "rigg and reean," but in severalty, and protected by hedges, and so the same system of inclosure was applied

* These *Transactions* vol. vii., N.S., p. 43.


Map of
TALKIN HIGH FIELD
— 1822. —
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
WAYGILL
HILL
RIVER GELT

to the arable townfields. The apparent inequality in the size of the holdings at this date is partly accounted for by the fact that the owner of an original dale frequently acquired by exchange those which adjoined his own on either side, and included the whole within his new hedge.

Talkin High Field.

The sketch plan is copied from the Edmond Castle estate map of 1822. The dotted lines indicate that the dales numbered 6, 7, 8 and 9 were still uninclosed. The following is a detailed description of the numbered plots of land and the dates of their conveyance:—

1 & 2. Thomas Wharton's two closes, formerly parcels of uninclosed land, in Talkin Highfields, containing 3 acres. (1831.) (According to statute measure these closes contained respectively 2a. 1r. 6p. and 0a. 3r. 36p.)

3. John Sproat's "Highfield dale" containing 0a. 3r. 16p., customary rent 5d., and "Lambfield dale" containing 3 roods, customary rent 2d., both forming one close called "Highfield." (1854.) Statute measure 1a. 2r. 16p.

4. Sarah Hodgson's "Highfield dale" containing an acre, customary rent 5d. (1851.) According to statute measure it contained 1a. 0r. 20p.

5. Robert Tinniswood's "Highfield meadow" containing 3 acres, customary rent 4d. (1843.)

6. Thomas Davis's "Highfield dale" containing 1a. 0r. 2p. (1852.)

7. John Bushby's "Highdale," situate in the High Fields at Talkin, containing 0a. 3r. 38p., customary rent 3d., together with the rights of common upon Talkin Fell appurtenant thereto. (1840.)

8. Richard Watson's "Highfield dale" containing 2a. 3r. 5p., customary rent 1d., in exchange for a field called "Low Dark"* containing 1a. 0r. 38p. (1843.)

9. John Rutherford's "Highfield dale" containing 2a. 0r. 14p., customary rent 6d. (1843.)

10. A modern inclosure containing 11a. 2r. 4p. which still retained in 1840 the name of "Highfield."

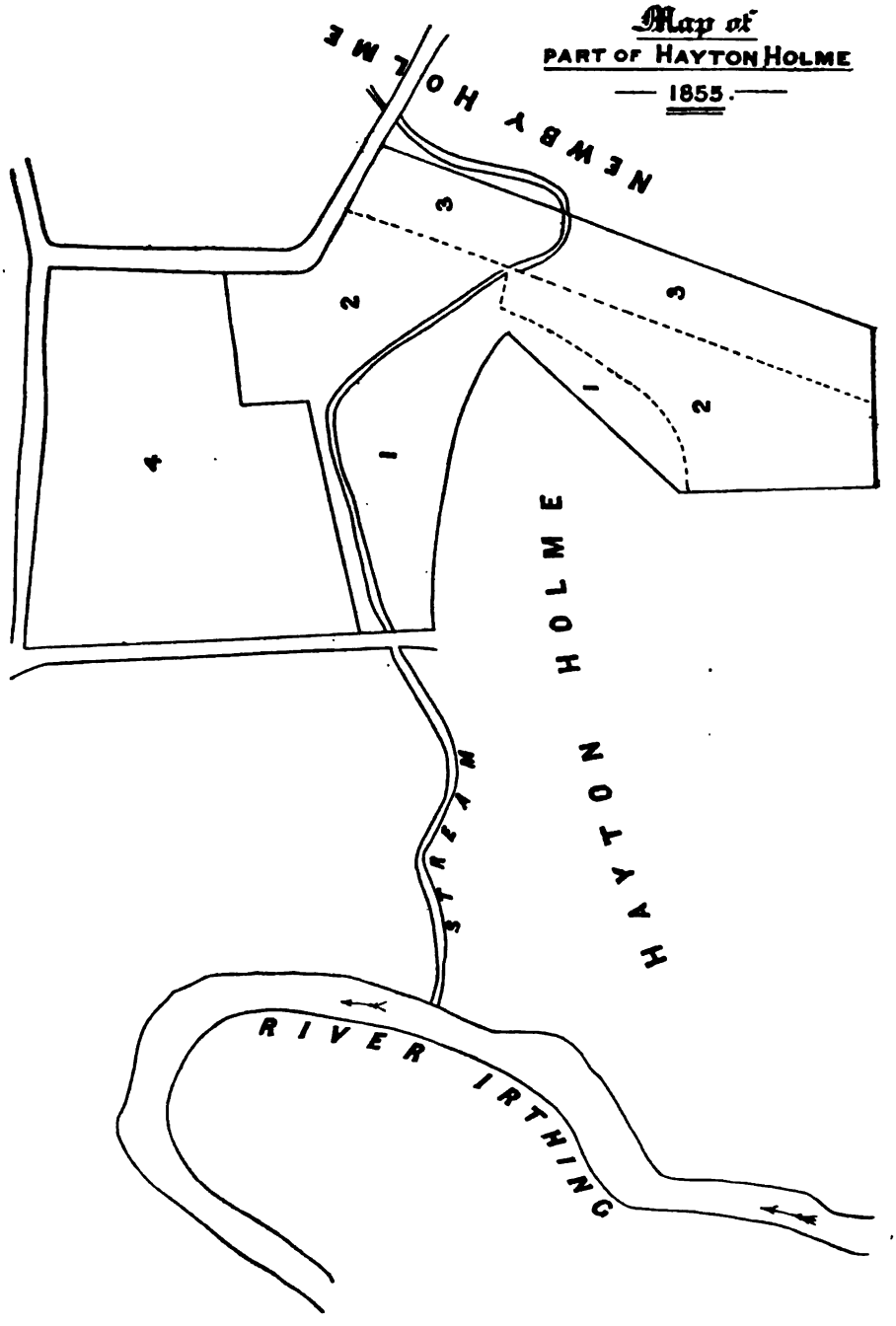
* Evidently a contraction of "day-work" an expression which occurs several times in Bishop Nicolson's "Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese." Compare the German term *Tagwerk* mentioned by Maitland, *op. cit.* p. 377.

In 1839 a piece of land is expressly described as bounded on the south by the *townfield called Highfields*, and it was not until fifteen years later that the last remaining dale was absorbed by Waygill Hill Farm.

Hayton Holme.

This low-lying tract, consisting at the present day of open pasture land, is constantly liable to floods, and is deeply seamed with the marks of old river channels. The Ordnance Survey (sheet xvii., S.E., six inch scale) marks the parish boundary—an apparently arbitrary zigzag line, which followed the sides or headlands of the ancient dales in this common field. In a former paper I have exhibited a plan showing the position of some of the dales of the common field, which was included between the parish boundary and the river Irthing, and have given from the title deeds a description of other dales which occupied the same area. I now produce another plan, dated 1855, which it will be observed fits into the one first mentioned, and shows that Hayton Holme at that point abutted upon Newby Holme within an irregularly-shaped inclosure of meadowland lying in two parishes and three manors. The portion of that inclosure numbered 1 was customary of the manor of Hayton, and formed the boundary of Hayton parish, Hayton manor, and Hayton common field. The portion numbered 2 was freehold, and parcel of the manor of Newby and parish of Irthington, while the portion numbered 3 containing 1a. 3r. 19p. was also in Irthington parish, but was customary of the manor of Wetheral and held under the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

There are at the present day at least two other customary tenements of the manor of Wetheral situate in Newby Holme, one of them near Bankhead and the others in the meadow called the Pickle, on the opposite side of the Irthing. It is difficult to understand how the Dean and Chapter became possessed of those detached plots of land in Irthington parish, and equally difficult to account for


Map of
PART OF HAYTON HOLME
— 1855 —
NEWBY HOLME
3
2
3
1
2
4
1
HAYTON HOLME
STREAM
RIVER IRTHING

the existence of a similar customary holding, belonging to the manor of Wetheral, and situate at Million House in Hayton village. The lower portion of the inclosure numbered 4 was formerly known as "Armsyke." The value of field-names is here illustrated, for it is obvious that "Armsyke" must have been the term applied to the syke or stream which from here to the river forms the parish boundary. It is clearly identical with the "Arnehome sike" of the Elizabethan Survey.

Little Corby Field.

An enfranchisement deed dated the 25th March, 1755, describes a "tenement" at Little Corby consisting of a messuage, a close called "Scarvake," two acres *in a common field called "Mill riggs"* and 12 acres *in a common field called "Little Corby field"* together with common of pasture and turbary in the wastes of the manors of Great Corby and Little Corby.

"Mill riggs" was, as its name implies, situate near the corn mill at Warwick Bridge, and "Little Corby Field" lay in the holme at the junction of the rivers Irthing and Eden.

Fenton and Faugh.

I have not any doubt that a common field was assigned to this township, but, as I do not possess any deeds which throw light on the subject, I am unable to apply that test to ascertain its precise locality.

In conclusion I must apologise for having given such a slight and incomplete sketch of the common fields of Hayton, but it is drawn from a source which is especially difficult of access, namely, from muniments of title which rarely see the light of day. Other landowners may possibly be able to supply further evidence from their own private documents, but even in that case the subject must as far as regards details always remain, as it is at present, abstruse and obscure.

ART. XXI.—*An award concerning Sheep-gates, Seathwaite-in-Dunnerdale, 1681.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

THE ancient farming life of our district is always interesting, and Seathwaite, the home of "Wonderful" Walker, is so little known to the outside world that a fragment of its history in the seventeenth century need be prefaced by no apology. The document here printed belongs to Mr. Herbert Bownass, honorary curator of the Ruskin Museum at Coniston; he found it among papers inherited from his father, the late Roger Bownass, for some account of whom see *The Book of Coniston*, p. 75. It is a slip of parchment measuring 16⅛ by 4⅛ inches, engrossed in a professional hand. Wonderful Walker (1709-1802) used to act as lawyer for his flock, but he was not born at this time; and the accounts often given of the extremely primitive simplicity of life in this remote nook of the fells make it a little surprising to find a document so business-like as this, concerning a matter apparently so trifling.

Up the beck from Seathwaite Chapel, in the little dale divided by the Tongue from the main valley of the Duddon, there are four ancient sites of farmsteads within the compass of half-a-mile:—Holling House, Long House, Tongue House, and Throng. The little patch of good land surrounding them and under the rough crags which enclose the dale was cut up into a great number of tiny irregular fields, and by the time of Charles II. many more than four families got a living from these fields together with the right of sheep-pasture on the hills around. At Tongue House there are still the traces of four separate

The names of the Jurry
William Stainton
Stephen Pritt
Mathew Jackson
Mathew Carter
Francis Taylor
Rob Christopherson
Will Christopherson
William Gybson
John Tyson
Joseph Casson
Thomas Lowder
Thomas Casson

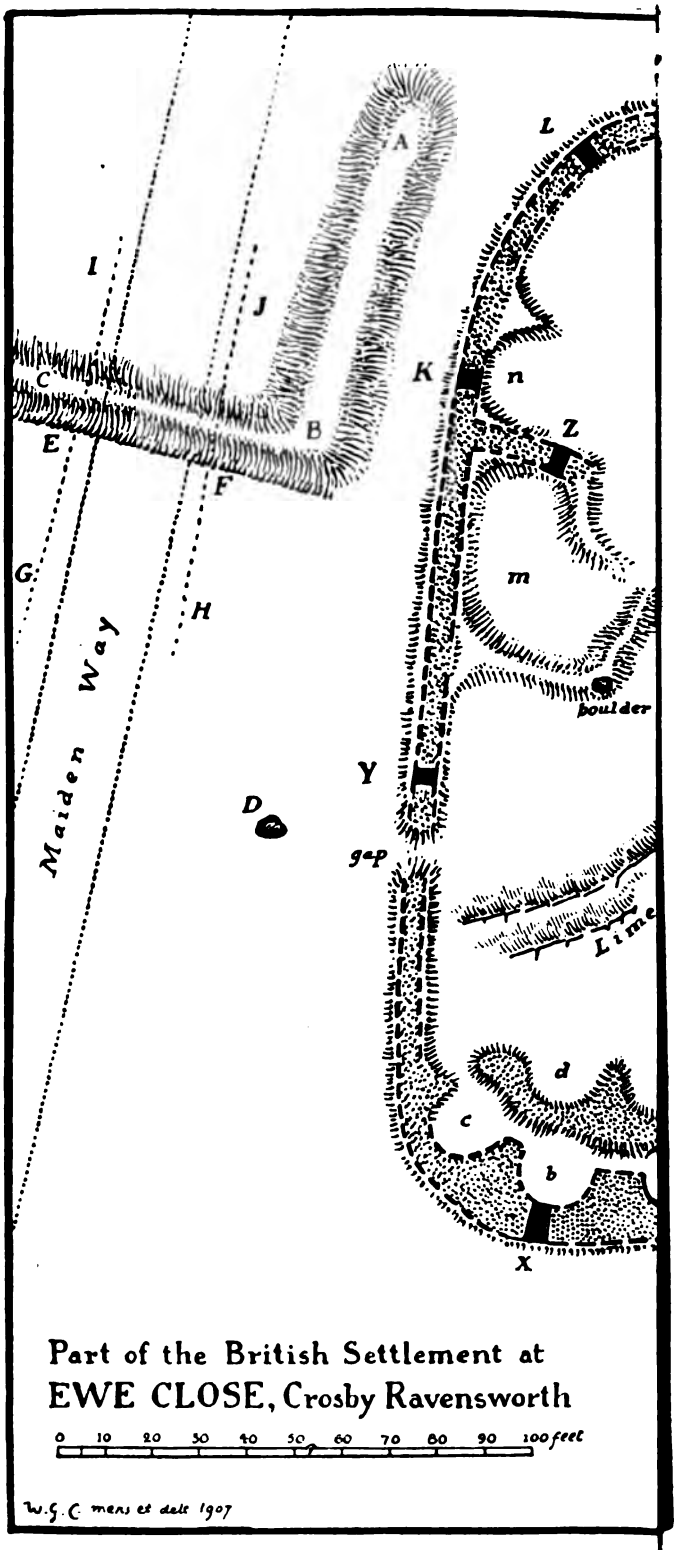
4th day of May in the 33rd yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne lord King Charles the seccond over England Scotland France & Ireland King defender of the faith, in anno Domini 1681 WE THE HEAD JUERY for Dunnerdall and Seatewhate hath been caused [cauled ?] to tounge house in Seatewalte wheareas strife & varience hath beene amongst the tenants at tongue house Concerneing their wayes and privilidges belongueing their tenements first we order and award that Richard Dixson shall sett a paire of Rayles betwixt steell and barne forth of the fould in at the little wood gapp WEE ORDER and award that Richard Dixson shall drive his goods up at the said Rayles & Nicholas Walker shall drive his goods up at the same Rayles and John Tyson and William Dawson shall drive their sheepe up at the same Rayles & Carry & Recarry as formerly & likewise we order & award that Richard Dixson & Nicholas Walker shall make up the said Rayles lawfull at or before the 24th day of June upon payne of 6^{s} 8^{d} every one makeing default LIKEWISE we order and sett downe that John Tyson & Thomas Walker & William Dawson shall watter their goods at yeat how well upon nessessity but not to leave them theare Also we order and set downe that the tenants of tonguehouse shall make up the Rayles in the gapp betwixt the houses of Nicholas Walker and Thomas Walker amongst them Also we order and award that John Tyson and Thomas Walker and Will Dawson shall drive their goods forth at the gapp at backside of John Tyson house and to make up a paire of Rayles amongst them there at or before the 24th day of June upon payne of 6^{s} 8^{d} every one makeing default Likewise we order and set downe that Richard Dixson & Nicholas Walker shall drive their sheep out at the said backside Rayles as the other doth at the litle wood gapp ALSO WEE ORDER and award that the said Inhabitants of tongue house shall Carry and Recarry in at the Kirgarth gapp and drive their goods as formerly to the buts over the bridge and to make up the gapp amongst them and not to leave their goods till they are over the bridge to the buts upon payne of 6^{s} 8^{d} every default and likewise we order and sett downe that the watter shall goe its usuall course in the fould as formerly ALLSO we order and sett downe that the tenants of longhouse shall drive their smal goods the same way the drive their great into the tongue upon payne of 12^{d} every default ALLSO we order and sett downe that the Tenants of holling house & the tenants of long house and tenants of tongue house and thronghouse in Seatthwaite shall bayte noe goods betwixt longhouse gill and tarne foote within the head walle upon payne of 6^{s} 8^{d} every default in breach of this our award or any matter or thing Contained in it the day and yeare first above written.

2A

[The Award concerning sheep-gates at Seathwaite, 1681.]

dwelling-houses, though now the whole group forms one homestead. With this congestion of population life must have been hard to win, and any encroachment, however trifling, on a neighbour's rights must have been serious. The trespassing of flocks going up to their mountain pastures appears to have been the occasion of the "strife and variance" which the Head Jury of Dunnerdale and Seathwaite Manor were called in to allay. They made provisions for the exact route by which sheep might be driven, through a lane of rails out of the fields beyond the head wall under the crags—the walls now cutting up the fells between Sunny Pike and Dow Crags being allotment inclosures of a later date. They gave directions for the making and upkeep of the rails under definite penalties, for the watering of the sheep, and for the prevention of trespass near the bridge on the way to the Butts.

Local information does not help us at all to identify this bridge; can the Kirkgarth gap be near the chapel, which is more than half-a-mile south of the area to which the award applies? Yeat How, now unknown, may be the hillock immediately to north-east of Tongue House, beyond which is an old gap and stile leading to a sheep-rake up the fell. There is a ruined sheep-fold on the slope of the how (not marked in the 6-inch map), and between it and the barn of Tongue House is a well which may be Yeat How well. Richard Dixon's pair of rails would be set from the barn, past the well and fold to the gap and stile ("steell") in the head wall; a distance of about 500 feet E.N.E. of the house; and all the five farmers of the tiny hamlet would drive their "goods" up this lane on Midsummer Day, "upon pain of 6s. 8d. every one making default."



Part of the British Settlement at
EWE CLOSE, Crosby Ravensworth

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 feet

W.G.C. mens et delt 1907

ART. XXII.—*Report on an Exploration of the Romano-British Settlement at Ewe Close, Crosby Ravensworth.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 12th, 1907.

AT the Society's excursion in July of this year to sites on the Crosby Ravensworth moors, it was proposed that part of the recently formed Research Fund should be devoted to the exploration of the "British settlements" in that neighbourhood, of which very little account has been given in these *Transactions*. The remains at Ewe Close, though not visited on that occasion, were chosen for a first attempt because of the curious problem offered by the fact that dykes, apparently in connection with a "British settlement," overlay the line of the Maiden Way, suggesting a date very much later than the Roman period. It will be seen that this suggestion proved to be illusory, but the structure brought to light was none the less worth investigation and record, although no museum treasures happened to be met with in the course of a search which was directed almost exclusively to the determination of the plan of the buildings. The few casual finds of pottery, &c., were enough to give the period of the settlement, and the work done, taken together with the examination of Urswick Stone Walls in 1906, adds to our knowledge of this type of remains, which have been much discussed but little explored.

Ewe Close is an intake on the moor, at a height of 850 feet above the sea, one mile east of Oddendale and on the southern brink of the little valley of Dalebank Beck, which runs from Oddendale to Crosby Ravensworth. There it joins the Lyvennet in its deep valley which lies

nearly north and south, passing due east of the settlement at about three-quarters of a mile. South of Ewe Close the land rises gently to five or six hundred feet higher, a slightly undulating tract of limestone rock thinly covered with turf, here and there wet but for the most part dry and open, and sprinkled with boulders chiefly of granite. From Ewe Close the Roman road known as the Maiden Way runs in a south-south-westerly direction towards the Tebay gorge, and is still fairly traceable as a grassy causeway over the moor; but to the north it is lost from the point where it leaves the ruins of the settlement, apparently broken by its descent into the valley, and reappearing only after some miles of its northward course. The hut-circles and dykes of Ewe Close cover an area of about 1000 feet long, east and west, by about 800 feet broad, north and south; but of this large area our operations covered only the northern central part, a well-defined group in a space about 350 feet square. In this part the ruins were most conspicuous, and the dykes overran the Maiden Way.

Leave to dig was kindly given by the Earl of Lonsdale through Mr. Little, and by the tenant, Mr. R. J. Todd of Crosby Ravensworth Hall; the Rev. Sidney Swann of Crosby Ravensworth was so good as to find five workmen, and the exploration began on Monday morning, September 9th, and lasted for three days under the writer, assisted by Mr. R. G. Collingwood and for part of the time by the Rev. J. Whiteside, the Rev. S. Swann, and Mr. C. J. Ruston-Harrison. The cost to the Society's Research Fund was £4 3s., including 10s. compensation for disturbance of the soil.

The Dykes across the Maiden Way.

In two places at Ewe Close there are ditched embankments crossing the Roman road in such a manner as to suggest that the remains associated with them are post-Roman. If these dykes were contemporary with the

settlement it might be inferred that the settlement was made at the very late period when the Maiden Way had ceased to be used, or that there had been some reason for stopping the way. Such reasons occurred in Iceland, where in two different sites tenth-century settlers built their homes across the public road in order to force travellers to stop and accept hospitality. In other counties roads have been blocked from less amiable motives. But here it seemed puzzling that a "British Settlement," of a type usually assigned to the Roman period or earlier, should have thrown its dyke across the public path. The Ordnance surveyors, indeed, in the six-inch map (as revised in 1897) have made the road pass through the slack between the dyke A B (see the general plan) and the settlement wall K L, and this in spite of a great boulder D which stands in the course of the supposed road. But about 500 feet to the south there is another dyke distinctly crossing the road. A third line, crossing still further south, though marked in the Ordnance map as an ancient dyke, is merely the footing of a comparatively modern fence wall, now thrown down.

As the dyke A B C is well defined, and at first sight not dissimilar from the settlement walls, and as the well marked line of the causeway of the road seems to aim straight for a point between B and C, the trench E F was dug. In this the road was found, 25 feet across, edged with large stones, upon which there was a slightly raised and hogbacked metalled road of 20 feet broad. At G H the cobble-paved causeway measured 33 feet across, though without definite step and kerb, while at I J the whole causeway was 26 feet broad, with 20 feet of raised road. No doubt the edges of the road have been damaged, and as our object in digging was not to examine the road in detail but merely to fix its position, we did not stop to make further excavation of the causeway, but gave our attention to the dyke.

A trench was dug from E northward, uncovering the

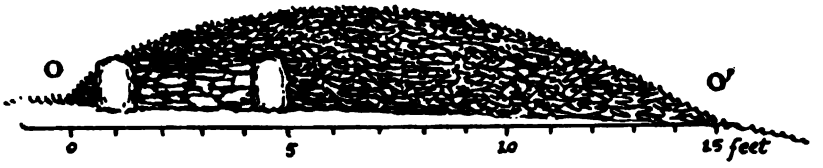
western edge of the road, and making a section of the dyke B C. This proved to be formed of loose earth and stones thrown up from a ditch dug on the south side of the embankment and destroying the road. It was evidently made at a time when the Maiden Way was no longer used as a main route, and as Roman roads continued in use for centuries after the departure of the Romans, this dyke, and any dykes associated with it, must be of mediæval date, unless the settlement walls could be shown to be contemporary, in which case we should have the puzzle of a definite and intentional stoppage of the public way. But a little further examination showed that the dyke A B C and its continuation for about 1000 feet to the westward, as well as the dyke already mentioned as crossing the road 500 feet to the south, were not of the same structure as the settlement walls. The walls proved to be of masonry, while these dykes, like others on the moor and elsewhere, formed of earth thrown up from a ditch, appear to be mediæval boundary dykes of the type which must have been common before dry-stone fencing came into use. Their apparent connection with the settlement is accidental, except that here the ancient settlement walls appear to have been used to form a continuation of the boundary. The deflection B A and the slack between this and K L perhaps indicate an outrake from the Oddendale valley which lies to northward. These mediæval dykes probably enclosed the *hagi* or pasture land belonging to the *tún* lands in the valley below.

THE SETTLEMENT WALLS.

Uncovering the grass-grown bank at K* we found a solid stone wall, about five feet thick, but with no defined face; there were, however, pieces of worked stone in the débris

* The bits of wall shaded black in the general plan are those actually uncovered and examined: the parts shaded with dots are apparently stone-work, the facings indicated by a broken line where they could be traced without digging.

at the foot of the wall. At L the wall was about 5 feet 10 inches thick; here the fence curves round to avoid a corner, in the style of a Roman camp. Passing a low gap on the north side, apparently a modern break for a sheep-trod, at M we found the inner face of the wall, formed of large dressed stones, but the northern face had fallen away, the ground being lower on the outside of the enclosure than on the inside, and the remaining wall in consequence only four feet thick. At N the northern face was again missing, but the inner side of the fence wall was built of large stones set on edge, and the party wall (4 feet 2 inches thick) running towards the central building was definitely bonded into the fence wall, leaving no doubt as to the skill and intention of the masons. The original size and height of the fence wall could be judged at O, where the wall was found under a large bank of ruin, and (as so often happens) not in the centre of the bank nor even under its highest part. The accompanying section (O to O^1) shows the footing of the wall, 4 feet



6 inches broad, built of great facing-stones set on edge and packed with rubble, lying in the spoil-bank, which is 15 feet broad and 28 inches high from the ground in its centre. If the material of this bank were replaced upon the masonry it would give a wall at least six feet high, not reckoning stones which may have been carried away, as at Urswick Stone Walls, for modern fence-building.

South of O, there is a gap of about ten feet which may represent an ancient gateway, and then the wall continues until it turns sharply westward to P, where the stone-work is 4 feet 9 inches thick. From this a party wall, 6 feet

6 inches thick at Q, runs to the central building. Immediately to south of this the wall's western side is lost in a high bank, apparently natural, from which it emerges, giving at R a thickness of 4 feet 8 inches. A little to southward there is a slight deflection in the line of the wall, to include a large boulder which it was probably easier to build in than to shift; but it turns sharply to the east before S, where the thickness is five feet, and then again makes an angle before reaching T, at which the wall is 5 feet 5 inches broad. Near T is a great boulder which may once have formed part of the wall, and the fence is well defined to the east of it until we come to another ten-foot gap, beyond which the wall forks. The southern fork soon loses its form, though it seems to connect the main garth with remains to the eastward; the northern fork also loses its sharply defined character of masonry, and a low bank curves round towards P, forming an irregular inclosure with a very large boulder (about 7 feet long and over 4 feet high) in the centre. It would be too fanciful to call this an Altar Stone; the enclosure is not in the nature of a temple of any kind, but apparently one of the usual garths or folds of a primitive homestead. But considering the approximate regularity of three parts of this structure (L O X), it is curious that the south-eastern part should be so unconventionally laid out. The character of the walling is kept up in the irregular eastern inclosures, and at U there is a fine piece of wall with great slabs on edge for facings, making the whole mass as much as 11 feet broad.

Returning to T and going south of west, after a slight gap or break in the fence, we come to the gateway V W, where a ten-foot wall on either side flanks an entrance 12 feet broad. At X the wall measures 8 feet in thickness, but at Y it is only 4 feet 5 inches, while the party wall at Z is fully 6 feet broad.

Two points in this fence-wall seem to suggest an imitation of Roman work. One is the rounding of the

corners at L, O, and X; though this may be only from a want of skill in building a salient angle, for at V and W the wall faces are not quoined, but carried round in a curve. The whole plan, though there are occasional angles, and the bonding at N is well managed, suggests a preference for curved lines. Indeed, the resemblance of the plan, especially near the gateway, to the trumpet shapes of "Late-Celtic" ornament is remarkable, and it is characteristic of these "British settlements." The other point which recalls Roman work is the style of building with wall faces of solid stone and a rubble core; but these builders did not course their faces. They seem to have picked granite boulders from the land, rolled them up and set them on edge in a double line, packed the space between with limestone fragments and small boulders—and then proceeded, in heightening the wall, to lay stones irregularly on the uneven edge so formed. A certain amount of hammer-dressing was given to the stones, but this is not seen in the fences so much as in the buildings which we have still to describe.

A point which differentiates this work from Roman building is the needless solidity of parts like the gateway as compared with the slighter curtain walls, and the want of regular military engineering shown in the south-eastern part of this main structure. But perhaps the original inclosure was fairly four-square, and the irregularity is caused by later addition as the settlement grew. It will be seen that the builders were not unskilled, and that the place was intended at first to be no ordinary homestead, but a stronghold worthy of its place on the Maiden Way.

The Smaller Buildings.

The gateway is flanked by hut-circles, of which there seem to be no less than eight or nine, in or connected with the solid stone-work forming the entrance. Beginning on the western side of the gateway, *a* is a kind of guard chamber, 12 feet 6 inches in diameter, with a floor

of limestone rock sloping to the door, and walls which have either lost their facing or were poorly built of small boulders. In this chamber many pieces of red sandstone slabs about 1½ inches thick were found. It opens into *b*, about 15 feet in diameter, and this into *c*, of the same dimensions. From *c* another door leads out into the open courtyard, so that *a*, *b*, and *c* form a suite of chambers, and in their north wall two other chambers, *d* and *e*, have been built.

East of the gateway is the chamber *f g h*, 13 feet 7 inches in diameter, well built, with a floor of limestone rock and a low seat, 18 inches broad, under the wall all round except at the doorway. At *f*, about one foot deep from the surface of the soil, was found a piece of glass, the fragment of a small dish, which when complete was about $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter and about ½ inch deep. It is of clear glass, only slightly yellowish-green in colour, and apparently cast in a sand mould. At Corstopitum we noticed a fragment of Roman glass like this in colour and texture, but part of a vessel of different shape. At *g*, on the floor, was a fragment of grey Romano-British pottery, the neck of an ampulla; and at *h* was a part of the lip of a patera in dark brown ware.

At *i* is another hut-circle, 13 feet 6 inches in diameter, and the space *j* may perhaps represent one more; but we have a solid block of wall 15 feet thick between *f g h* and *i*, and the approach to *i* and *j* must originally have been through the passage, now partly blocked, between *k* and s, the gap south of *j* being probably not original, though the fence wall of the main inclosure is here curiously wanting in simplicity of plan.

The circle *k* is 16 feet 6 inches internal diameter, less well built than *f g h*, with a row of granite cobbles round side and a few to the east near the entrance, and one more on the south. It has no seat, and the floor is of sammel. No relics were found in it, though it was carefully excavated.

MASONRY OF EXTERIOR WALL-FACING ON THE NORTH-WEST, GREAT CENTRAL BUILDING, EWE CLOSE.

TO FACE P. 363.

North of this is *l*, an isolated hut-circle of 15 feet internal diameter, next door to the west; this was not dug.

The limestone edges, between this and *m*, may be the result of digging limestone since the settlement was inhabited. At the eastern end of Ewe Close there is a limekiln and quarry.

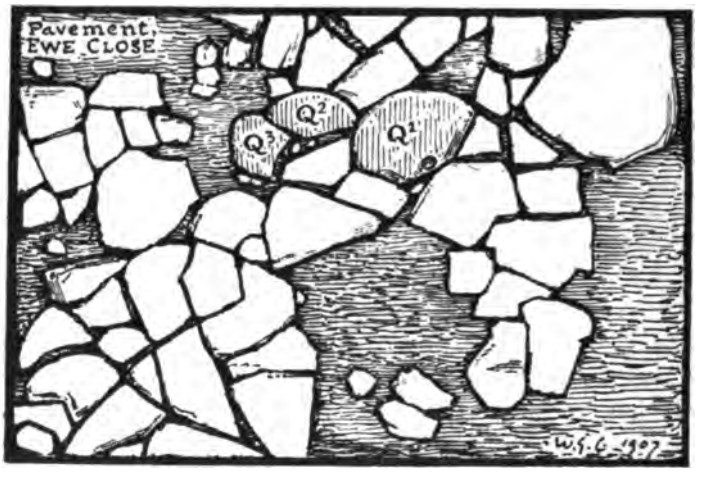
The small irregular inclosure *m* is bounded on the north by a particularly strong bit of walling which ends in *z*, but the crooked banks which continue this wall are slight, and were not dug. At *n* is another semi-circular nook, like *d* and *e*. The bank *o p* was not dug, nor was the circular shallow pit *q*, 25 feet in diameter. The inclosures *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, are parts of another group of remains extending to the eastward; these, with the round pit *v*, 26 feet 6 inches diameter, and the two hut-circles *w* and *x*, and the inclosure *y*, were also left for another opportunity, as the time allowed by circumstances for the exploration on this occasion was spent chiefly on the more important features of the site—the dike on the Maiden Way, the fence of the main inclosure, the gateway, and the great central circle.

The Central Circular Building.

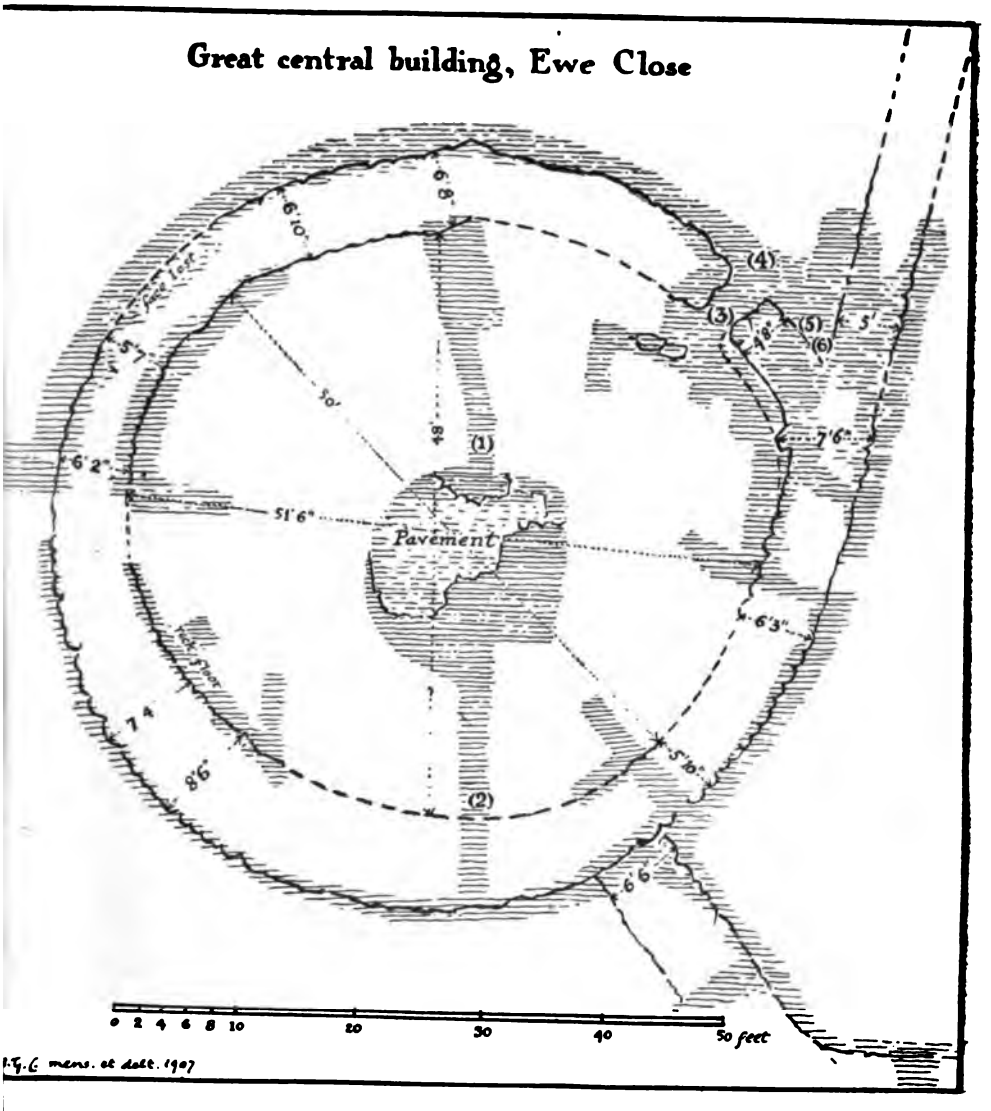
A building which measures internally 51 feet 6 inches east and west and 48 feet north and south, with walls 8 feet 6 inches thick (on the south-west side) to 5 feet 7 inches (on the north-west), can hardly be called a "hut," although it resembles the hut-circles of British settlements in all except size. The great central hut at Urswick Stone Walls measures 28 feet internally (see these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 85), and this is a great size for a dry-stone building, if it was roofed.

The walls of this building are more solidly built than the fence of the inclosure. The size and style of stonework can be seen from the photograph, which represents a part of the outside of the circle on the north-west side.

The dimensions of the wall are given on the plan of the "great central building," in which the horizontal shading indicates parts completely exposed by digging. The great granite cobbles of which the wall-facings are made have been roughly worked into hammered faces, but a certain amount of red sandstone, also found among the erratics on the moor, has been used, and on the north of the building, outside, we found a slab of sandstone which had been squared, not for use as a quern or a rubbing stone, but for some purpose unknown. In following the outside facing of the wall many bones of cows and teeth of sheep and horses were turned up, as also in the interior; these may be modern, and we did not observe any bones of other animals.



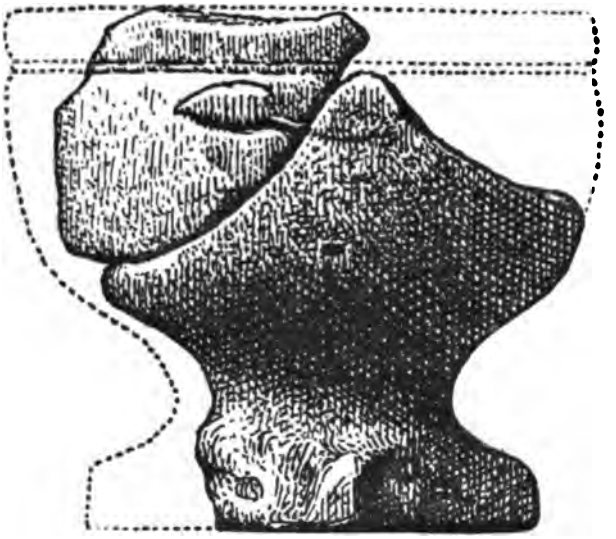
The interior of the building, roughly circular and averaging fifty feet diameter, had for its floor the native rock on the south-west side where the limestone happens to crop out; and where it falls away, towards the middle of the area, a pavement of flat flags has been made to replace it. A portion of this pavement, measuring five by seven feet, is given in detail in the figure, of which the


Great central building, Ewe Close
Pavement
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
(6)
51'6"
50'
48'
6'8"
6'10"
5'7"
6'2"
7'6"
6'3"
5'10"
6'6"
7'4"
8'6"
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30 40 50 feet
J.G.C. mens. et delt. 1907

scale is half-an-inch to a foot. The horizontal shading represents parts where the pavement has been lost. The three stones vertically shaded and marked Q are three fragments of a nether stone of a quern of the Roman type, with a radius of 8½ inches and a thickness of 5 inches. The arrangement of the flagstones shows a certain amount of ingenuity and some approach to a kind of pattern, perhaps accidental, and yet curiously recalling the arrangement of lines on British coins (*e.g.* the coins figured in Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, opposite p. xiv.). Close to this pavement lay a bit of chert, and at (1) at a depth of fifteen to eighteen inches from the surface, and nearly a foot below the pavement level, there were pieces of cannel coal lying in the sammel, which was not quite undisturbed. As the pavement was missing at this place there may have been previous digging; but the sammel was disturbed elsewhere below the level of the pavement, which perhaps was laid down after the building had already been inhabited for some time, as indeed is indicated by the use of a broken quern for paving. At (2), just inside the south wall, was the piece of the lip of a patera in black ware with slight incised broaching.

From the pavement in the centre there is a fall of about three feet to the doorway on the north-east. This doorway we found much knocked about, but there was a well-defined opening three feet broad in which, at (3), lay a bit of thin red pot. The solid wall at the doorway measured only 4 feet 8 inches thick, but it seems probable that the facing stones have been lost as far as the projecting stone where the thickness of the wall is marked as 7 feet 6 inches, and that the original face was along the broken line from the door to this point. Uncertain traces of pavement were found in the doorway, and just outside at (4) were found the foot and lip of a red unglazed pot about 2¾ inches high (see illustration, p. 368) with a leaf pattern under a band, resembling an example in the "Samian case," Romano-British room, Carlisle Museum;

a thin bit of buff pottery; the foot of a red mortarium, and a piece of black pot.



The junction of the party wall (running from N in the general plan) with the great central building was much ruined, but seems to have been bonded. In the angle, at (5), were three fragments of a thin grey bowl; and at (6) were a number of relics:—a piece of red ironstone; the carved lip of a Romano-British urn, Upchurch ware, with a fragment apparently of the same; a morsel of red pottery $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, and another $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; and part of a Romano-British mortarium in solid buff pottery, resembling an example at Carlisle, Fisher Collection, No. 34. These comparisons with specimens at Tullie House were made with the kind help of Mr. L. E. Hope, the curator, and serve to throw light on the date of this remarkable site. Speculations on the possible use and nature of a building unique—so far as our present knowledge goes—in our district would be out of place until further examination of this and the neighbouring sites has given us all the data we can obtain from exploration.

PROCEEDINGS.

April Meeting.

THE Meeting for reading papers was held at Carlisle on Thursday, April 18th, 1907, preceded by a Council Meeting at the house of Major Ferguson, at which the following points were discussed:—

Exchange of *Transactions* with other Societies: five Societies from which, during some years past, no publications had been received, were ordered to be struck off the list.

Reprinting these *Transactions*, o.s., vol. i., part i., vol. ii., and vol. v., now out of print; the proposal to reprint was negatived.

Episcopal Registers of Carlisle: a grant was voted in aid of the second part.

Parish Registers: Major Ferguson, hon. editor of the series, reported that four registers had been transcribed and twelve were in progress towards the series to be printed in conjunction with Mr. Phillimore's scheme. Besides these, four registers had been transcribed for separate publication.

The suggestion to extend the sphere of the Society's action into Lonsdale South-of-the-Sands was abandoned.

The place and date of the next meeting were arranged.

At the General Meeting held at Tullie House in the afternoon, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., chairman of Council, took the chair, and the following were present:—Dr. Barnes, Mr. H. Brierley, Canon Bower, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Mr. J. F. Curwen, the Rev. J. Ewbank, Major Ferguson, the Rev. C. J. Gordon and Miss Gordon, Dr. Haswell, Mr. J. P. Hinds, Miss Hodgson, Mr. L. E. Hope, Mr. J. H. Martindale, Mr. W. T. McIntire, the Rev. F. L. H. Millard, Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson, Mrs. and Miss Todd, Mr. W. N. Thompson, Mr. E. Wilson, and others.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and signed, the following new members were elected:—Mr. Isaac Teasdale, J.P., Carlisle; the Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.; Mr. H. Studholme Cartmell; Dr. John Abercrombie, Augill Castle; the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite, Urswick Vicarage.

Mr. J. H. Martindale then reported progress with the recent explorations at Holm Cultram.

Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson read his paper on "The Dispute between the Abbots of Furness and Savigny" (Art. I.).

Mr. J. F. Curwen read part of the paper by Mr. Graham on "The Old Village of Edmond Castle" (Art. II.).

Dr. Barnes read the paper by Mr. J. R. Ford on "The Manufacture of Iron at Leighton Furnace" (Art. III.).

Mr. Collingwood read an abstract of the paper by the Rev. J. H. Colligan on "The Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting House" (Art. IV.), and papers by the Rev. J. Whiteside on "A Stone on Crosby Fell" (which will be printed later) and on "The Chapelry of Helsington" (Art. XI.).

July Meeting.

The first Excursion and the Annual General Meeting for 1907 were held in the Crosby Ravensworth and Kendal districts on Thursday and Friday, July 11th and 12th. The committee for local arrangements consisted of Mr. Harvey Goodwin, the Revs. S. Swann and J. Whiteside, Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A. (hon. sec.), and the Editor. Among those present at the meeting were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (president) and Mrs. Ware; Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Goodwin; Mr. and Mrs. Dent, Flass; the Rev. S. and Mrs. Swann, Crosby Ravensworth; the Rev. J. Ewbank, Bolton Gate; the Rev. J. Whiteside, Helsington; the Rev. A. G. Heelis, Brougham; the Rev. C. J. Gordon, Great Salkeld; Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Curwen; Mrs. and Miss Metcalfe-Gibson, Coldbeck; Miss Noble, Beckfoot; Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie, Augill Castle; Miss Fothergill, Brownber; Mr. W. G. Collingwood; the Rev. J. K. Floyer, Warton; Dr. Haswell and Mr. E. Jackson, Penrith; Mr. Ruston Harrison, Stanwix; Mr. N. H. Arnison and Miss Arnison, Penrith: Mr. E. Wilson, Kendal; Mr. T. Kirkbride, Burton; Mr. R. Pearson, Ulverston; Mr. A. W. Simpson, Kendal; Miss E. L. Harrison, Kendal; Miss M. E. Harrison and party, Windermere; Mr. A. Moorhouse, Kirkby Lonsdale; Miss Riley, Grange; Mr. and Mrs. J. Watson, Kendal; Mr. A. Fothergill, Kendal; Mrs. Greenwood, Bankfield, Kendal; Colonel Rigg, Milnthorpe; Miss T. W. Wilson, Kendal; Mr. J. R. Ford, Yealand; Miss Geddes, Windermere, and others.

The coaches left Shap Railway Station at a few minutes past eleven, and the first halt was made at the small megalithic circle opposite Scar farmhouse on the Crosby Ravensworth road. The so-called "British camp" on Wickerslack Moor was then visited, and the party, under the guidance of the Editor, walked up to Iron Hill tumulus and circle. Two fine days, after the rain and cold of

a late summer, had brought the moors into good condition for walking, and the weather on this occasion was all that could be desired.

Driving on through Crosby Ravensworth the coaches stopped at the gate of Maulds Meaburn Hall, in front of which Mr. J. F. Curwen read his description of the house and its history (Art. VII.). Miss Noble added a few words describing the condition of the place when her grandparents came to live there as the first tenants after James, Earl of Lonsdale, died. The earl had ordered some alterations to be made, but the workmen, in error, had begun by pulling the roof from the hall in the centre of the building, so that when the tenants arrived there was no roof over their heads.

After examining all parts of the interior, by kind permission of the occupiers, for which thanks were returned to Mr. and Mrs. Winter, the journey was resumed to Flass House, the residence of R. W. Dent, Esq., who had provided an excellent luncheon. The rule of the Society being that free luncheons are not accepted by the party on excursions, a charge of 1s. 6d. a head was made; but, as the programme added, "a member generously offered to provide, free of charge, all beverages." The President returned thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Dent for their hospitable reception; and Mr. Dent, in his reply, mentioned that the money paid by the guests, amounting to £5 2s. 6d., would be sent to the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Harvey Goodwin followed with a humorous criticism of the drinks provided which, as by this time was an open secret, were his own gift to the visitors.

Reassembling in Crosby Ravensworth Church, the members and others from the neighbourhood heard with interest the Rev. C. J. Gordon's account of the fabric (Art. XIV). In returning thanks for the address, the President paid a tribute to the memory of Canon Weston, whose varied talents and generous devotion had accomplished the restoration of the church to its present completion and beauty. The Rev. Sidney Swann, vicar of Crosby Ravensworth, pointed out the bases of the Norman piers of the chancel arch, now visible to about eighteen inches below the floor level, from which the Early English nave pillars spring, showing that after the destruction of the earlier fabric the new church was built upon the ruins of the old.

Driving thence past Woodfoot the party dismounted for a sight of the "British settlement" known as Howarcles, and then proceeded over Orton Scar to Tebay Station, where there was time for a cup of tea before taking train to Kendal. The programme had stated that "if very wet, the L. & N.W. Railway Co. had courteously consented to have the 5-3 p.m. train from Penrith stopped at Shap,

by signal," of which there was no need, for the day continued brilliant and the drive proved most enjoyable. The thanks of the party are nevertheless due to the Railway Company. Another tribute was given on passing Orton Hall; the coaches were stopped, and three cheers acknowledged Mr. Harvey Goodwin's welcome contribution to a day of pleasant surprises.

On arriving at Kendal a Council Meeting was held at the Commercial Hotel, after which twenty-five members dined together, the President in the chair. At the Annual General Meeting, the minutes of the last meeting having been read and signed, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness was re-elected president, and the existing officers were re-elected, there being no vacancies on the Council.

The following new members were then elected:—Mr. William Briggs, Brackenber, Lancaster; Mr. J. E. Singleton, 25 Howard Place, Carlisle; Mr. R. W. Dent, Flass House, Crosby Ravensworth; Mr. Arthur Lowry, Waratah, Broughton, Preston; Mr. Sidney Story Carr, Percy Gardens, Tynemouth, Northumberland; Miss Marion Geddes, Langrigg Howe, Windermere; Mr. Walter Ingram Chapman, Fruitless Head, Appleby; Mr. William Atkinson, The Rookery, Ulverston; Mr. Charles Forster, Wreay, Watermillock; Miss Georgina Spring Rice, Old Church, Ullswater; Miss Agnes Spring Rice, Old Church, Ullswater; and Miss Sibella F. H. Keenlyside, Gally Law, Weybridge.

The Editor stated that the Research Fund, mentioned at the previous excursion of the Society (these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 304), had now reached nearly £20; and that a grant from the fund had been made by the Council for explorations in the "British settlements" near Crosby Ravensworth.

It was also mentioned that the British Archæological Association had intimated a desire to meet at Carlisle in the summer of 1908, and that the Council had suggested the formation of a local committee of members of the Society and others to co-operate with the Association in making arrangements for the meeting.

The Editor, in the absence of the author, read part of Mr. Whitwell's paper on "Chantries in Kendal Ward, A.D. 1546" (Art. XII.).

Colonel Edwin Jackson exhibited and described a mediæval skillet found near Alston (Art. VI.).

A paper with plans of earthworks in the neighbourhood of Crosby Ravensworth by Mr. R. G. Collingwood was submitted by the Editor, who explained that it formed a preliminary report on the sites visited that afternoon as well as on others, of which a more complete description would be given after the explorations made possible by the grant above mentioned (see Art. XXII.).

The President then read a note by Mr. E. Towry Whyte, M.A., F.S.A., on a destroyed fresco in Carlisle Cathedral, and exhibited Mr. Whyte's drawing, with additional remarks (Art. XV.).

The Editor read Mr. T. H. B. Graham's description of three stone circles at Ainstable, which will be printed when plans have been drawn; and laid on the table Mr. Graham's paper on "The Parish of Hayton" (Art. V.).

Mr. John Watson exhibited an amphora handle, stamped MMGSA; and Mr. A. Moorhouse showed a piece of terra sigillata stamped ALBINI M., both from Watercrook.

Captain Farrer exhibited a horse-trapping found in the moat of the city walls at York; and Miss Alice Johnson a leaden medal found at Lancaster near a Roman coin.

On Friday morning, July 12th, a large party assembled at the Castle How Hill, Kendal, which was described by the Editor (Art. X.), who also acted as guide to the site of the Roman station at Watercrook. The hay grass having been cleared, access to the camp was given by Mr. Mason, the tenant, who showed the remains of arches in the floor of the shippon—perhaps the hypocaust and baths—and stones built into the walls of the farm (Art. X.).

At Kendal Castle, Mr. J. F. Curwen read his paper (Art. IX), for which thanks were proposed by the President, and accorded with applause.

Driving back to the Commercial Hotel, Kendal, the party took luncheon, and some members visited the Museum to see the relics from Watercrook.

The afternoon was spent in an excursion to the British fort known as Castlesteads on the Helm. The climb was accomplished by about thirty-six of the party, whose exertions were rewarded by a particularly fine view of the great panorama for which this site is famous, and by the inspection of this little discussed but interesting stronghold (Art. X.). Oxenholme Station was reached about half-past three, and the party dispersed after two days of fine weather and the successful carrying-out of the programme, which was none the less satisfactory for not being too elaborate.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

The second Meeting and Excursion of the season was held in the Scaleby and Corbridge districts on Thursday and Friday, September 12th and 13th, 1907; the arrangements being made by Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., the Rev. Canon Bower, Dr. Barnes, Major Ferguson, the Rev. F. L. H. Millard, and Mr. R. A. Allison. Among the members present were:—The Bishop of Barrow (president of

the Society); the Mayor of Carlisle (Mr. Robert Crowder); Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Curwen, Heversham; Miss K. G. Marston and Miss Foster, Windermere; Prof. and Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Coniston; the Misses Ullock, Windermere; Mr. W. T. McIntire, Tullie House, Carlisle; Canon Bower, The Abbey; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. T. S. Ritson, Maryport; Mrs. Bateson, Lancaster; Mr. F. Nicholson, Windermere; Mr. T. H., Mrs., and Miss Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. W. N. Thompson, St. Bees; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale, Wetheral; Mr. J. Parkinson, Lancaster; the Misses Noble, Beckfoot; Mrs. Metcalfe-Gibson, Ravenstonedale; Captain and Miss Farrer, Bassenthwaite; the Rev. J. Ewbank, Bolton Rectory, Mealsgate; Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie, Augill Castle; Mrs. and Miss Todd, Otter Furrows; Mr. A. Moorhouse, Kirkby Lonsdale; Miss Creighton; Miss E. G. Quirk, Workington; Dr. Barnes, Carlisle; Miss Walker, Watermillock; Mr. H. B. Greenop, Workington; Dr. and Mrs. Haswell, Penrith; Miss Dixon, Stanwix; Dr. C. A. Parker, Gosforth, and Mr. Edwardes; Mr. W. G. Welch, Lancaster; Mr. E. W. Wilson, Kendal; Mr. R. G. Graham, Beanlands Park; the Rev. A. G. Loftie, Wetheral. On the second day the party was increased by a number of members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who joined us to visit excavations at Corstopitum.

At 12-15 on Thursday, September 12th, the carriages left the Victoria Mews, Lonsdale Street, Carlisle, with a party of about fifty members, and drove along the North Road in bright sunshine skirting Longtown to Arthuret, where they were received by the rector, the Rev. Ivor C. Graham, and after walking round the church assembled within to hear Canon Bower's description of the building and its history. He stated that the parish of Arthuret contained part of what was once known as the Debateable Land. The churches in such a neighbourhood were naturally likely to be scarce and mean. The church of Arthuret itself was in such poor condition in 1609 that it had to be rebuilt by the help of a charity brief granted by James I. In 1868 a faculty was granted to make certain alterations and amendments, including the repair of the windows. The east window, which was dilapidated, was replaced by a new window, and the old one was now standing in the garden at Whooff House, and could be seen from the Warwick Road; it had been given to the late Mr. Hope. The bowl of the font in the church was peculiar, being a lop-sided nonagon, with a quadrangular basin. Canon Bower, in conclusion, described the church plate and the monuments, including those of the Grahams of Netherby. The font is described by the Rev. James Wilson in these *Transactions*, O.S., X., p. 242; the bells by the Rev. H. Whitehead,

BRACKENHILL TOWER.

Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson. TO FACE P. 375.

o.s., vii., p. 221; and the brass, representing two hands holding up a heart, is figured and described by Canon Bower in N.S., i., p. 114. This brass was handed round for exhibition, also the chalice inscribed "Cuthbertus Curwen rector et vicarius procurator hujus Calicis Arthuret in Cumberland: 1618."

Dr. Barnes then read his paper on "The Battle of Ardderyd" (Art. XVI.). Replying to a question on the subject of the old cross in the churchyard (see Calverley's *Early Sculptured Monuments*, &c., p. 8), the Editor said that nothing was definitely known of its age and history except that it was not pre-Norman, and that it could hardly have been carved for Archy Armstrong, though his remains are said to lie near it. Mr. R. G. Graham of Beanlands Park suggested that it might be the old market cross of the village, moved here to stand as a monument.

At two o'clock the drive was resumed to Brackenhill Tower, where Mr. and Mrs. Makant kindly received the company. Mr. J. H. Martindale read a paper describing the tower, which, he said, dated from 1584. It was in the possession of the Grahams until 1752. Then it was sold to Rowland Stephenson, who was probably a nephew of Governor Stephenson, who purchased Scaleby Castle in 1741. At the present day it was still the property of the Stephensons, the family now bearing the name of Standish. Proceeding, he said:—"We are here on an ancient site. In 1890 a double stone cist was discovered in the field near the entrance gate. It contained the remains of two skeletons and fragments of pottery, which Lord Northesk declared to be Early British. There is a short description of the find in our *Transactions*, o.s., xii., p. 177. The late Chancellor Ferguson says:—'The remains are left in the exact state as found,' but I am not sure if we can see them to-day. The tower before us is one of the later types of pele towers. It was built by a Richard Graham. There is a date on the wall (1586) which agrees with the architectural details, and I think we may be satisfied the building is of sixteenth century work. The tower was originally isolated and detached. It is an unusual type for Cumberland, and has a good deal of Scottish feeling in its details. The circular gargoyles of the parapet are common in Scotland, but I think the only similar example in a building of this kind which we have is Newbiggin Hall, Westmorland. The whole treatment of the parapet, with corbels and moulded string in place of the simple oversailing course, is late and Scotch in character. The roof is slated, with gables inside the parapet, leaving a walk or alure entirely round the top. This is not common in Cumberland, although we find it frequently in Northumberland and Scotland. The dressings of the windows are late in date, showing the flat type of rounds and

hollows, with square heads to the openings, as in Scottish baronial work. One or two of the old wrought-iron grills or window-guards remain in the openings. There is a curious shoot pipe or spout from a sink near the present entrance. The external dimensions of the tower on the first floor are some 30 feet by 35 feet, and about 39 feet high. The original entrance is on the south side, and access to the upper floors is by means of a circular stone stair." The remains found in the cist mentioned have been removed to the south of England, but the field is said to be haunted.

The Bishop of Barrow and Mr. T. H. Hodgson offered the thanks of the Society to Mr. and Mrs. Makant for their kind reception.

After a long drive by way of Cliff Bridge, Scaleby was reached at 4-15, Mr. Claude Lowther and Miss Aimee Lowther being present to receive the guests. Mr. T. H. Hodgson read a paper on the history of the place, and Mr. Martindale gave a detailed description of the castle.

"This castle," he said, "is of quite a different type from Brecon-hill, more extensive, and interesting. Mr. Hodgson has just told us the site was granted by Henry the First to the influential family of the De Tilliols. This family held the important fortresses of Flint and Rhuddlan in North Wales. Mr. G. T. Clark, the great authority on castles, says it is not of the eleventh century, though an early castle, and that it is trebled moated. The county historians give it only two moats. The site is in a level plain with no natural fortification to take advantage of. One moat is perfect, some 500 feet in diameter, and the buildings are placed in the centre of the contained area. I don't think we have any masonry of the earliest De Tilliols remaining. The licence to crenellate, dated the very beginning of the fourteenth century, nearly 30 years earlier than Naworth, does not necessarily imply that the buildings are of the same date. It may only mean a completion of the work or even a legal sanction for confirmation of work done long before. The buildings form a rough square about 100 feet by 85 feet, the south-west angle being slightly depressed, and consist of a lofty and strong curtain enclosing an area some 70 feet by 80 feet with a tower or keep at the north-west angle. The east curtain had three mural turrets or rectangular bastions projecting beyond the face, and there is one at the south-west angle. The entrance was by a rather narrow gateway in the depressed portion of the west curtain, defended by a portcullis. The passage is some 12 feet long. To the north, entered from the passage, is a guard chamber with loop in external wall. On the south side is another chamber, with entrance from courtyard. The western curtain probably continued in a straight line to the south end of the keep and formed a 'fore

building' or entrance to the keep. There remains the jamb and part of the arch of a door from the courtyard which has had a portcullis giving access to this forebuilding. In the upper part of the western curtain are several mural chambers, the first tier consisting chiefly of garderobes. The second is a fine portcullis room 21 feet by 6 feet 7 ins., with arched and ribbed roof, and opening off are two smaller chambers, the doors to which have the shoulder or Carnarvon arch. This feature may be derived from the Tilliols' Welsh connection, and gives some clue to the date, say the end of the thirteenth century. This portion of the curtain and a return to the south remains probably its full height and has a broad parapet walk. Turning now to the tower, it quite deserves the designation of keep in preference to pele. It has always been associated with a curtain wall, and is higher and stronger than most pele towers. It has been four storeys in height, and this detail alone indicates early date; the later peles have usually only three storeys. The lowest floor (now divided into two) was a single room lighted by narrow loops, high up, one in the west and one in the north wall. It has a fine barrel vault in stone, and the walls are about 8 feet thick. The present door and window to the north are modern. The ancient entrance has been entirely obliterated, but was probably at the south end from the fore buildings I have mentioned. At this end you will see one or two steps *in situ* of the original circular stair which was the means of access to the upper part of the tower. The north and west walls are the only remains of the upper part, and show corbels to support the wood floors. The windows remain in the north wall and have had stone seats. The south end of the tower has been almost entirely destroyed, and any part remaining is covered by modern erections, which if cleared away, might reveal the plan. The so-called bastion addition of the late fifteenth century is an octagonal projection in the angle formed by the west curtain and keep. It seems to have been two storeys in height, the lower one being vaulted. The single-light windows have arched heads, and the remains of a fireplace exist in the west wall. The second door with portcullis before mentioned opens into this building, and the upper part seems to have given the only access to the room over gateway, etc. A building at right angles on the east wall of the keep and inside curtain is a very fine vaulted room 35 feet by 22 feet, now sub-divided and ceiled below vault. I think this building is later than the keep, although the vault is very similar in character, but the external walls are much thinner. The upper part was either raised or entirely rebuilt in the sixteenth century by the Gilpins. Large and spacious dungeons were said in the eighteenth century to exist under this hall, and the line of the screens is indicated by

corbels at west end. The east curtain exists in the outline of the present family apartments, and probably the wall is covered by the nineteenth century casing. It had three mural towers, now altered in various ways, and with windows inserted. This block of buildings was originally built in the fifteenth century by the Musgraves, inside the curtain, with windows facing the courtyard. They consisted of three storeys; the old windows now blocked up faced into the courtyard. The height has clearly been settled by the curtain wall, so that they did not appear above the parapet. So much for the plan. The external masonry is very fine ashlar, but there are very few heraldic features to assist in fixing dates. To the north of the gateway is a panel containing the De Tilliols' arms. This is an insertion. Over the gateway is a small inserted panel of arms, Gilpins impaling a chevron coat. I notice our late president in his papers on "Statesmen's Heraldry," describes several local coats with a chevron. In passing through this interesting building I hope you will examine the beautiful and artistic articles collected by Mr. Lowther, notably the fine pair of wrought iron gates in the drawing room. There is a picturesque description of this castle in the second volume of our *Extra Series*, by a Gilpin 140 years ago, in which he mentions 'dark and capacious dungeons under the Hall.' I think there is a door in the present dining room leading into one of the turrets of the east curtain."

The Bishop of Barrow expressed the Society's thanks to Mr. and Miss Lowther for their kindness in receiving the party, and took that opportunity of thanking the Rev. Canon Bower, Dr. Barnes, Mr. Martindale, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, and the Rev. G. Thompson, rector of Scaleby, for their contributions to the day's proceedings.

Mr. Claude Lowther having spoken in acknowledgment of the vote of thanks, the members availed themselves of his invitation to inspect the castle, with much interest in the old pictures, tapestries, ironwork, and furniture, with which Mr. Lowther has filled the apartments; afterwards the party walked to Scaleby Hall, where they were entertained to tea on the lawn by Mr. R. A. Allison.

Scaleby Church was then visited—with its curious round-arched doorway, and massive tower, eighteen feet square. The rector exhibited the engraved and silver-gilt chalice and the parchment Register book, given to the parish in 1724 by William Gilpin, whose burial shortly afterwards was the first burial recorded. The red sandstone font inscribed—

"Mr H | Parson N B | W B | C G | Churchwardens 1707"

is described by the Rev. James Wilson in these *Transactions*, o.s.,

SCALEBY CASTLE.

Photo. by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson. TO FACE P. 378.

x., p. 237. He says that Mr. Hetherington of the Kirklinton family was probably the donor. Nathaniel Bowey, here indicated by his initials, was also vicar of Crosby-on-Eden. The two ancient bells are described by the Rev. H. Whitehead (these *Transactions*, o.s., vii., p. 230), together with many interesting particulars of the church.

In the porch is a bit of a mediæval grave slab, built in, and in the church is a Roman altar of which one side has been carved later to form the effigy or relief statue of a priest in benediction. The other side, not yet cleared of a thick coat of whitewash, reads:—

DAC O
[A]E-EST
TVNISVI
VS VEI-IO
ANVS Γ
[DI] ISE

After dinner at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, the evening meeting was held, the President in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting having been read and signed, it was proposed by the Editor, seconded by Canon Bower, and carried unanimously, to add to the list of Vice-presidents Mr. James G. Gandy of Heaves, an original member, and Auditor of the Society since 1888.

Nine new members were elected:—

Miss Sewell and Miss B. W. Sewell, Brandlingill.
Mrs. Eleanor Walker, The Old Hall, Gowbarrow, Penrith, and Dun Mallard, Cricklewood, London, N.W.
Mr. W. N. Ling, Wetheral.
Mr. Claude Lowther, Scaleby Castle.
The Rev. George Thompson, Scaleby Rectory.
Mr. Herbert B. Greenop, 8, William Street, Workington.
Mr. R. H. Forster, Hon. Sec. British Archæological Association, Brooklyn Lodge, Mill Hill, Barnes, Surrey.
Mrs. Irwin, Lyne How.

The following exhibits were then made:—

(1) By the Rev. Canon Rawnsley—Two stones found in Dunnerbeck, Rydal: one believed to be a spearhead or the sharpener of a bronze tool; and the other to be a neolithic axe or chisel.

(2) By the Bishop of Barrow—A gold armlet found in the crevice of a rock near Kirkby Stephen: and the ring and pinhead of a great penannular fibula from the neighbourhood of Kirkby Lonsdale. Of these a description is promised for the next volume of these *Transactions*.

(3) By Mr. Clements—A wooden bowl or mazer.

(4) By Mr. McIntire, from the Carlisle Museum—A Romano-British vase found in 1907 at Messrs. Cowan & Sheldon's works, St. Nicholas, Carlisle, with ornamentation imitating the honeycomb pattern characteristic of similar urns from the neighbourhood of York. The workmen who found it threw away the bones which it contained and roughly glued the fragments of the vase together.

(5) By the Rev. J. Ewbank—A stone celt (or hone?) found in the river Ellen near Bolton.

(6) By Dr. Parker—A glass bead of Late-Celtic or Early Saxon age, found on Black Combe, Cumberland.

The following papers were read :—

By Mr. T. H. Hodgson. "Hallsteads." (Art. XVII.).

By Dr. Parker. "Wayside Crosses in West Cumberland." (To be printed in next volume of these *Transactions*).

By the Editor. "Report upon an exploration of the British Settlement at Ewe Close." (Art. XXII.).

The following papers were submitted :—

By the Editor. "An award concerning sheep-gates, Seathwaite in Dunnerdale, 1681." (Art. XXI.).

By the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg, M.A. "The Feoffees of the Cliffords, to the time of Richard III." (Art. XVIII.).

By Mr. T. H. B. Graham. "The Common Fields of Hayton." (Art. XX.).

By Mr. T. H. B. Graham. "Stone Circles near Greystoke; Carrock Fell, &c." (Publication deferred).

By the Rev. J. Whiteside, M.A. "Some Letters from John Nicolson to Chancellor Burn." (Art. XIX.).

By Miss M. L. Armitt. "Fullers and Freeholders of the Parish of Grasmere." (Art. XIII.).

On Friday, September 13th, the 10-8 train from Carlisle was taken to Corbridge. On the journey the sky cleared and settled into sunny warmth—so that all the excursions in this year of a cold summer were favoured with exceptionally brilliant weather. At Corbridge the Rev. Canon Lonsdale, vicar of Corbridge, and Mr. J. P. Gibson of Hexham, pointed out the features and contents of the extremely interesting church, with its Saxon tower, and neighbouring pele, formerly the vicarage. Canon Lonsdale read extracts from the Registers—noting that in 1724 a pew was enlarged for "Lord Darwentwater"—who cannot be the last peer of that name

executed after the rising of 1715. Mr. Gibson described the collection of carved and inscribed stones at the end of the north aisle, including Roman altars, a Saxon gable-cross, a Norman tegulated shrine-tomb, twelfth and thirteenth century grave-covers and other fragments.

After luncheon at the Angel Hotel the party walked to the excavations at Corstopitum, which were explained by Mr. C. L. Woolley of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. He described the site as not military but residential, and consisting of a group of dwelling-houses, shops and public buildings, extending along and below a street parallel to the river. The lowest house, flanked by a tower on a solid base, was of considerable size, and contained a bath and hypocaust, and a tank by the side of which stood a sculptured lion and bull to serve as a fountain. From this the town rose in terraces to the summit of the river-bank and the broad and well paved street. In this street one of the buildings was a pottery shop, where about a hundredweight of pottery had been found, lying in groups of various kinds just as it had fallen from the shelves; and the lock and key lay in the doorway. A few coins with the pottery gave a new date for ware of which the age had been undetermined. In a house further along the street was found a draught-board and checkers, and further still to the east was a curious apse-like structure above an older foundation with curved outline and connected with a long and thick wall. The remodelling and rebuilding of the houses was a striking feature of the site, and showed long-continued occupation, the close of which was dated by a find of coins apparently left in a bag in the open street at a time when the town was deserted.

Canon Bower expressed the thanks of the Society to Canon Lonsdale, Mr. J. P. Gibson and Mr. Woolley for their addresses, and also to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for their courteous reception of the visitors.

By the kind invitation of the Rev. Canon Lonsdale, a number of the party were entertained to tea at the Vicarage; others who had to travel beyond Carlisle were obliged to catch the three o'clock train at Corbridge station, and left with regret a historic and picturesque neighbourhood in which they would have been glad to linger.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Braddyll, Dodding, and Gale Pedigree.

The pedigree inserted opposite has been compiled and communicated by our Hon. Secretary, Mr. John F. Curwen, F.S.A.

Perforated Axe Hammers

now (1908) in possession of Mr. J. B. Townson, of Priest Hutton, Carnforth.

1.—Found at Cinderbarrow, Parish of Warton, Lancashire. Weight, 8 lbs. 2 oz.; length, 11 ins.: thickness, 3 ins.; greatest width, 4½ ins.; diameter of hole at mouth, 2 ins. Dished on both faces and well finished.

2.—Found on Borwick Moor, Parish of Warton, Lancashire. Weight, 7 lbs. 2 oz.; length, 10 ins.; thickness, 3 ins.; greatest width, 3½ ins.; diameter of hole at mouth, 1¾ ins. Roughly finished, dark in colour.

3.—Found at Priest Hutton, Parish of Warton, Lancashire. Weight, 4 lbs.; length, 7¼ ins.; thickness, 2½ ins.; greatest width, 3⅛ ins.; diameter of hole at mouth, 2 ins. Roughly made.

All these three made of sandstone, No. 1 of a different texture—rather more fused.

A list of other stone implements found in the immediate district is appended to a paper on "Stone Implements," by George C. Yates, *Transactions* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Manchester, 1887.

The above list is kindly communicated by the Rev. J. K. Floyer, F.S.A., Warton.

"Vandalism in the Lake District."

Under this heading the *Yorkshire Post* of September 16th, 1907, published the following paragraph:—"The first prosecution in the Lake District, under the 'Ancient Monuments' Protection Act,' took place at Keswick, on Saturday, and was authorised by the Chief Commissioner of Works. The offender, John Raine, aged 17 years, clerk, of Coxhoe, County Durham, did not appear. It was

Seen and allowed by us
F. Blencow
Pr Brougham

John Robinson
seall [L.S.]

Endorsed
Geo. Stockdale

Roman Sepulchral Slab at Carlisle.

Writing on October 4th, 1907, Mr. W. T. McIntire, Director of Tullie House, says :—I have just been down to Cowan & Sheldon's works to see what is evidently a Roman sepulchral slab found about 3½ feet down, in preparing the foundations for a new shed. The slab is unfortunately in fragments, and the fractures seem to be old. The stone, in fact, is in a very damp and rotten condition, but one can still make out a kind of arched ornament at the top, and a seated female figure below. A large portion of the stone to her right is lacking, but there is part of an arm holding a roll still to be seen. The only letters distinguishable at present are the figures XX. and below D. and M. The stone is coming up to the Museum.

The "Sixteen Men" of Holm Cultram.

Mr. T. H. B. Graham of Edmond Castle, writing on August 24th, 1907, kindly sends the following notes in elucidation of this topic :—The Sixteen men of Holme Cultram are the subject of a valuable paper contributed by Mr. Francis Grainger to these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 172. That ancient body appears in Queen Elizabeth's reign to have been elected triennially by the tenants of the manor, and to have constituted a species of parish council with very full powers. To them were entrusted all matters of rating and local government. They appointed four deputies called "Woodwards" to maintain the fences around the woodland (p. 188) and I gather that one of the duties of the sixteen men was to see that "free bulls" were provided for the use of the tenants (p. 209). Other information respecting them is contained in a paper by the same author on "The Chambers family of Raby Cote," printed in these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. i., at p. 208. Mr. Grainger mentions the fact that the Honor of Penrith also possessed its Sixteen men. It is desirable that evidence of their functions should, if possible, be collected and recorded.

It may be noted that at the same period there existed in the manor of Aston and Cote in the parish of Bampton-in-the-bush, Oxfordshire, an analogous body known as "the Sixteens." There the inhabitants met on the eve of Lady Day at the town cross, and elected representatives to serve as Sixteens during the ensuing year. The latter exercised a jurisdiction independent of the lord of the manor, issued orders, set penalties, made presentments, chose officers, allotted the common meadow land, and their orders, if proclaimed from the town cross, were binding on the inhabitants. They too appointed four deputies, called "Grass Stewards," who were bound to see that the fence around the common meadow was

kept in good repair, and to provide, at their joint expense, four two-year-old bulls every season, to run on the common pasture. (*Archæologia*, vol. 33, p. 274, and vol. 35, p. 470).

It is significant that a parallel case is afforded by a foreign country, viz.: Dithmarschen or Ditmarsh, the strip of coast line lying between the estuaries of the rivers Eider and Elbe, the cradle of the Anglo-Saxon race. There, as late as the fifteenth century, every parish was a self contained and self governed agricultural community, and elected officers called "the Sixteen," who administered justice, and from whose decision an appeal lay only to the whole parish. *Archæologia*, vol. 37, p. 375). The Sixteen of Ditmarsh too exercised supreme authority in all matters of agriculture, and appointed deputies to attend to the hedges and to provide a common bull. (*Ibid* p. 382). The men of Ditmarsh, like those of Holme Cultram, suffered from the incursions of an ever-present enemy—*avidum mare*, the greedy sea.

These details may appear trivial, but they are valuable for the purpose of comparative study.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS IN A MOUNTAIN PARISH IN LAKELAND: with the History of the Church and Benefice of Torver, together with its Manor, School Endowments, Charities, and other Trust Funds, By Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A., Rector of Torver and formerly a Master in St. Bees Grammar School. Carlisle: Thurnam, 1908. Pages 80 with illustrations.

IN MEMORIAM.

It is with regret that we have to record the loss of Mr. WILLIAM DILWORTH CREWDSON, of Helme Lodge, hon. treasurer, who died on Monday, January 13th, 1908. Three days previous to his death he retired to rest in apparently good health, and during the night had an apoplectic seizure from which he never recovered. Mr. Crewdson was in his seventieth year, and was the oldest representative of an old county family. He was for many years a member of the banking firm of Messrs. Wakefield, Crewdson & Co., now amalgamated with the Bank of Liverpool Ltd. So far back as 1874 he was placed on the Commission of the Peace for the County of Westmorland. In 1876 he was appointed a magistrate for Kendal, and at the time of his death was the senior justice. He was chairman of the County Bench (Kendal Ward Division), Deputy Lieutenant of the county, and in 1888 filled the office of High Sheriff. In that year the County Councils Act came into operation and he was chosen by the Council at their first meeting as one of the aldermen, a position he filled up to the time of his death. He afterwards became vice-chairman, and in March, 1906, was appointed chairman. In politics Mr. Crewdson was a staunch Conservative, and had filled the office of vice-president of the South Westmorland Association. He was a great reader and an excellent lecturer, and the members of the Kendal Literary Institution had several opportunities of listening to his delightful descriptions of his tours abroad, and discourses on Church History. His kindly genial presence was always welcome wherever he went, and his philanthropy will be missed by the majority of missionary enterprises, charity organisations, educational societies, hospitals and dispensaries in the county, which he largely supported. Although not a contributor to our *Transactions*, he was always keenly interested and followed closely the work of the Society. He had been a member since 1886, and in 1900, in succession to the late Mr. W. H. Wakefield, he was elected hon. treasurer.

THE REV. PREBENDARY HARVEY, F.S.A., of Navenby Rectory, Lincoln, a member since 1873, died on May 22nd, 1907.

Mr. WILFRID H. CREWDSON of Beathwaite, Levens, a member since 1887, died on October 31st, 1907.

Mr. H. MILES RADCLIFFE, J.P., of Summerlands, Kendal, a member since 1897, died on March 25th, 1908.

Mr. THOMAS BARLOW-MASSICKS, J.P., formerly of the Oaks, near Millom, died in April, 1908. He had been a member of our Society since 1877, and contributed to these *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., an article on "The old Blast Furnace at Duddon Bridge."

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1896 Cropper, Rev. James, B.A., St. Andrews, Penrith.
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1907 Forster, R. H., Brooklyn Lodge, Mill Hill, Barnes, Surrey.
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1906 Fothergill, J. W., Brownber, Newbiggin, S.O.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Ravenstonedale.
1905 Fowkes, Mrs., Waterside, Esthwaite, Hawkshead.

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1905 Gibson, J. P., Batley Hill, Hexham.
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1906 Gillbanks, Plaskett, Clifton, Penrith.
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1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
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1891 Greenop, Joseph, William Street, Workington.
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1879 Grenside, Rev. Canon, M.A., Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.

1893 Guildhall Library, London (Edward M. Borrajo, Librarian).
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1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., Belmount, Storrs, Windermere.
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1878 Harrison, Rev. James, Barbon Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
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1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Plumtree Hall, Milnthorpe.
1889 Higginson, H., Bank Street, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, James P., 11 Victoria Place, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 11 Victoria Place, Carlisle.
1905 Hobley, E. G., Thore Cottage, Tirril, Penrith.
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1906 Hodgkin, Rev. J., Whittington Rectory, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1884 Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., D.Litt., F.S.A., Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.
1906 Hodgson, C. Courtenay, The Courts, Carlisle.
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1895 Hodgson, Mrs., Newby Grange, Carlisle.
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1901 Holmes, W. A., M.D., 50 Hartington Street, Barrow.

1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1903 Holt, Mrs., Blackwell, Windermere.
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1898 Hough, Keighley J., 4 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, 5 Threadneedle Street, London.
1894 Huddart, A., The Orchards, Eskdale, by Carnforth.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, 59 Eaton Rise, Ealing, London.
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1906 Jack, S. W. B., Greystone Road, Carlisle.
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1877 Jackson, Mrs. W., 3, Conyers Avenue, Birkdale, Southport.
1899 Jackson, Samuel Hart, Heaning Wood, Ulverston.
1908 Johnson, Miss Alice, 12 Castle Park, Lancaster.
1904 Johnston, J. Rooke, Mulcaster Crescent, Carlisle.
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1903 Law, Rev. R. H., Arnside, *via* Carnforth.
1882 Lazonby, J., 24 Addison Street, Nottingham.
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1897 Leconfield, Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
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1901 Lidbetter, Robert M., 21 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1907 Ling, W. N., Wetheral, Carlisle.
1892 Little, William, Chapel Ridding, Windermere.
1903 Little, W., Lowther, Penrith.
1901 Littlewood, J. H., High Croft, Kendal.
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1875 Lonsdale, The Earl of, Lowther Castle, Penrith.
1874 Lowther, Hon. W., *Vice-President*, Lowther Lodge, Kensington Gore, London.
1889 Lowther, The Right Hon. J. W., The Speaker, *Vice-President*, Hutton John, Penrith.
1907 Lowther, Claude, Scaleby Castle, Carlisle.
1907 Lowry, Arthur, Waratah, Broughton, Preston.
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The Author apologizes for any defects in the varied spelling of names, and for the following corrigenda:—

Page 263, line 22 from top, "Valletti" should be "Valetti."

,, 275, line 4 of note, "was a Vicar" should be "was son of a Vicar."

,, 277, line 10 from bottom, 2nd column, "Nichalas" should be "Nicholas."

,, 278, line 17 from bottom, 1st column, "Help" should be "Hepp," and just above "Patrack" should be "Patrick."

,, 284, after the word "heir" in the first note, reference should have been given to Tabulation II., pages 313-314.

,, 300, line 20, the date of death of Thomas de Clifford should be "1391," not "1291."

,, 310, in the feodary column, "John de Boyville" should be "Robert."

,, 316, ,, ,, ,, "Alan de Haverington" should be "Adam."

,, 316-321, "Murton" should be "Marton," as on page 290.

,, 322-327, "Watby" should by "Waitby," as on page 304, &c.

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Kendal, 9th July, 1907.

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